Cuius regio?
Ideological and Territorial Cohesion of Silesia

eds Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik

vol. 3

Silesia under the Authority of the Hohenzollerns (1741–1918)

eds Lucyna Harc, Teresa Kulak

Cuius regio?
Ideological and Territorial Cohesion of the Historical Region of Silesia (c. 1000-2000)
vol. 3

eds Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik

Online access: http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/publication/80643
http://cuiusregio.uni.wroc.pl/en/publikacje
http://cuiusregio.uni.wroc.pl/pl/publikacje

Silesia under the Authority of the Hohenzollerns (1741–1918)

eds Lucyna Harc, Teresa Kulak

Wrocław 2015

The book was published with funds of the program Cuius regio. Analiza sił spajających i destrukcyjnych w obrębie regionu określających przynależność osób (grup społecznych) oraz spójność społeczną jako zjawisko historyczne / Cuius regio. An analysis of the cohesive and disruptive forces destining the attachment of (groups of) persons to and the cohesion within regions as a historical phenomenon, decision of the Polish Minister of Science and Higher Education No. 832/N-ESF-CORECODE/2010/0.

Peer review: *Włodzimierz Stępiński*

Translated by: *Matthew La Fontaine, Paweł Ausir Dembowski (chapters), Maciej Zińczuk (summaries)*

Language proofreading: *Matthew Bastock*

© Copyright by Authors and Uniwersytet Wrocławski

Cover photography: *Schlesische Provinz, [in:] Sydow-Wagners Methodischer Schul-Atlas. 60 Haupt- und 50 Nebenkarten auf 44 Tafeln, ed. Hermann Wagner, Gotha 1891, No 20 (The Library of Institute of History, University of Wrocław, Signature 738/Kart)*
Cover design: *Marcin Fajfruk*
Typesetting: *Aleksandra Kumaszka, Tomasz Kalota*

ISBN 978-83-942651-3-7

Publishing House eBooki.com.pl
ul. Obornicka 37/2
51-113 Wrocław
tel.: +48 602 606 508
email: biuro@ebooki.com.pl
WWW: http://www.ebooki.com.pl

Table of Contents

Teresa Kulak
From Silesian Wars to the Great War. Region of Silesia in the Prussian Kingdom and the German Reich (1741-1918) 9

Paweł Jaworski
State and local administration in Silesia in 1740–1918 as a factor in regional (dis)integration..... 25

Teresa Kulak
The economy and socioeconomic processes in the Silesia region (from the mid-18th century to 1918)..... 63

Wanda Musialik, Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers
Analysis of integrative and destructive forces among social groups in Silesia in the Prussian period (1740–1918) 101

Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers
The ethnicity of inhabitants of the Silesian region (up to 1918) 143

Teresa Kulak
The issue of national and cultural identity among residents of Silesia in the period 1741–1918 163

Lucyna Harc
One region, two states. Silesia under the Hohenzollerns (1741-1918). 187

Maps and Illustrations..... 195

Bibliography 197

Index 223

Polish-German Concordance of Topographic Names 237

The Authors 241

Teresa Kulak
University of Wrocław

From Silesian Wars to the Great War. Region of Silesia in the Prussian Kingdom and the German Reich (1741-1918)

Abstract:

This volume contains another collection of articles prepared under the patronage of the European Science Foundation, comprising part of the international project *Cuius regio. An analysis of the cohesive and disruptive forces determining the attachment and commitment of (groups of) persons to and cohesion within regions*. In the period 1741-1918 analysed within this collection, Silesia was under the rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty. Its distinctness as a region within the Kingdom of Prussia took shape during the rule of Friedrich II during the First Silesian War, and the process lasted until 1806. It was not until the internal reforms undertaken in Prussia during the Napoleonic Wars that, in 1815, the Silesian province was integrated with other regions of the Prussian monarchy. However, its administrative division into three regencies, with an ethnically and religiously diverse population, led to the development of a sub-regional identity within the Opole regency, which in turn strengthened the distinctiveness of Upper Silesia. The processes driving the modernization and industrialization of Prussia led in the 19th century to further internal political and cultural divisions, while in the economic sphere the agricultural and industrial sectors proved complimentary. In the course of these processes, the Polish-speaking community, distinct in terms of nationalist and religion, did not build a sense of common identity with the Prussian state, nor the German Reich. Their internal national policies, essentially confrontational towards that segment of the population, served to reinforce the process of internal stereotyping of ethnic groups taking place in the region, as well as categorization of the two largest groups as Poles and Germans. World War I destroyed the region's economic cohesion, and also led to the conclusion of nationalist conflicts under the treaty concluded in Geneva on 15th May 1922, which divided the province of Silesia between Poland and Germany.

Keywords:

Silesia, Wrocław, Prussian-German Province, regional history,

This volume contains a collection of studies which are the product of research on the formation of Silesia as a region in the period 1740-1918. It is another portion of the summary of research undertaken by a team of Polish historians in conjunction with their participation in the programme of the European Science Foundation titled *Cuius regio. An analysis of the cohesive and disruptive forces determining the attachment and commitment of (groups of) persons to and the cohesion within*

regions[1]. The entirety of the research project, initiated and directed by prof. Dick de Boer of Groningen, was led in Wrocław by project team members Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski and Rościsław Żerelik. The research was finances by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education[2].

The previous volumes of studies by the large Polish team presented detailed pictures of processes occurring within the context of the Silesia region's strengthening or weakening cohesion from the Middle Ages to 1740, and then again from 1918 to 1945[3]. Their abbreviated editions in Polish, including texts contained in this volume, have been published in the form of articles in *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*[4], Poland's oldest regional periodical, dedicated to the history of Silesia and the surrounding regions. The entirety of the research team's work covering the period 1740-1918 was directed by Teresa Kulak and Lucyna Harc. The team was made up of scholars from the Institute of History, University of Wrocław and the Opole University of Technology Chair of Research on European Heritage, who engaged in detailed analyses of the general collection of factors facilitating the development of the region's internal cohesion, also taking into account elements that weakened that cohesion, and even those which served as disintegrating influences on the region.

The project's assumptions were for original analyses to be conducted on five factors significant in the functioning of the region: administration (Paweł Jaworski), economy (Teresa Kulak), social groups (Wanda Musialik and Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers), ethnic issues (D. Schreiber-Kurpiers) and the national and cultural

[1] For more about the project see www.cuius-regio.eu and Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik, *Czyj to region, czyli słów kilka o pewnym projekcie badawczym*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 67 (2012), No. 4, pp. 3–5.

[2] *Cuius Regio. An analysis of the cohesive and disruptive forces destining the attachment of (groups of) persons to and the cohesion within regions as a historical phenomenon,* decision of the Minister of Science and Higher Education No. 832/N-ESF-CORECODE/2010/0.

[3] See *The Long Formation of the Region (c. 1000-1526)*, ed. Przemysław Wiszewski, Wrocław 2013 (=Cuius Regio? Ideological and territorial cohesion of Silesia, eds Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik, vol. 1); *The Strenghtening of the Silesian regionalism (1526-1740)*, eds Lucyna Harc, Gabriela Wąs, Wrocław 2014 (=Cuius Regio? Ideological and territorial cohesion of Silesia, eds Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik, vol. 2); *Region divided. Times of Nation-States (1918-1945)*, eds Marek Czapliński, Przemysław Wiszewski, Wrocław 2014 (=Cuius Regio? Ideological and territorial cohesion of Silesia, eds Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik, vol. 4). The papers are available (in line with the Open Access policy) in printed form (libraries are prioritized) and in electronic form on the website of the project (www.cuiusregio.uni.wroc.pl) and in the Digital Library of Wrocław University (collection of the Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences).

[4] See 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 67 (2012), No. 4; 68 (2013), No. 2 and 68 (2013), No. 4.

identity of the region's inhabitants (T. Kulak). The parallelism in the occurrence of the studied processes and phenomena during the selected period allows the authors to engage in a multiaspectual examination of their involvement in the formation and solidification of the region's administrative and economic structures, as well as of the social stratification visible in the region during the period of continually intensifying industrialization. The research also allowed for an assessment of the impact of economic and social factors on the attitudes and mutual relations of Silesia's inhabitants, with their diverse ethnic backgrounds. They were qualified by language, while efforts were made by the authorities to force them into using German, and pressure for unification was exerted within the sphere of cultural unification. These factors taken as a whole had an impact on the national identification of the population, particularly on its sense of regional affiliation. They were, however, generates by the political conditions present in Silesia, and the result of its position within the Prussian monarchy.

An outline of the history of Silesia in 1741-1918

The selection of the chronological borders of 1741-1918 is justified by important dynastic and political events, as Silesia saw the takeover of a new ruling dynasty. The rule of the Habsburgs, having lasted over 200 years[5], was eliminated during the course of the First Silesian War, begun on 16th December 1740 and persecuted successfully by the King of Prussia, Friedrich II Hohenzollern (1740-1786). His successors would rule over Silesia until the final days of World War I, *id est* 9th November 1918, when Emperor Wilhelm abdicated following the defeat of his armies and Germany was declared to be a republic. The rule of the Hohenzollerns over Silesia should be viewed as a long-term phenomenon, but a particular intermediate turning point is the year 1815 when the region, stable since the Silesian Wars, was expanded, and the newly-created province of Silesia achieved administrative equality within the Prussian state. Mention should also be made of another, equally important legal and political change what took place in 1871, namely the formation of the German Reich, with the Prussian king at its head. This led during the period 1871-1918 to the formation of a dualistic state power in Silesia, the Kingdom

[5] See Gabriela Wąs, *The principles of the Cuius regio project and the history of Silesia between 1526 and 1740*, [in:] *The Strenghtening*, pp. 9-19.

of Prussia and the German Empire, each of which had its own institutions, policies, and socio-economic priorities[6].

In 1741, Friedrich II achieved control of Silesia with relative ease, not only because of his well-schooled army of 27,000 soldiers[7]. He announced that he was entering as an 'ally' of Maria Theresa (1740-1780), who, as a woman, was refused in the German states the right to assume the Austrian throne. As a result of the disorientation thus created, Friedrich was not challenged and also received the support of the dominant Protestant population in Lower Silesia, primarily the nobility. The first political success of Friedrich II was the tactical neutralization of Wrocław's authorities, accomplished by the accord of 3rd January. The next was his victory over the Austrians on 10th April at the battle of Mollwitz, which allowed his armies to enter Upper Silesia. Treating the partition of Silesia as a *fait accompli*, in 7th November 1741 Lower Silesia swore its allegiance to Friedrich II. Upper Silesia did so later, in March 1743, owing to Nysa and the duchy's resistance lasting until May 1742. Military action was completed following a later successful battle fought by the Prussian army on 17th June 1742, at Chotusitz in Bohemia. The peace treaty, concluded in Wrocław on 21th June 1742 and confirmed on 28th August in Berlin, was a tremendous success for Friedrich II. He had acquired around 1,160,000 new subjects, while expanding Prussia by 7/8 of the previous territory of Silesia, itself measuring over 38,000 km^2. In spite of two successive wars conducted in the years 1744-1745 and 1756-1763, Friedrich II did not shed any territory. Austria retained only the Duchies of Cieszyn and Opava, as well as the southern portion of Nysa and Krnov, comprising in total 5,147 km^2. Austrian Silesia's political, social and economic situation did not impact the formation of the region under Prussian control, and the borders of Silesia drawn up in 1742 remained constant until 1918.

[6] Literature concerning particular issues noted here has been presented in further chapters of the book. Among the more important synthetic writings, we may cite: Wacław Długoborski, Józef Gierowski, Karol Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia do 1807 r*., Wrocław 1958; *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Schlesien*, ed. Norbert Conrads, Berlin 1994; *Historia Śląska,* vol. 1: *do roku 1763,* part 3: *od końca XVI w. do r. 1763*, ed. Karol Maleczyński et al., Wrocław 1963; *Historia Śląska,* vol. 2: *1763-1850,* part 1: *1763-1806*, ed. Władysław Długoborski et al., Wrocław 1960; *Historia Śląska,* vol. 2: *1763-1850,* part 2: *1807-1850*, ed. Stanisław Michalkiewicz et al., Wrocław 1970; *Historia Śląska,* vol. 3: *1850-1918,* part 1: *1850-1890*, ed. Stanisław Michalkiewicz et al., Wrocław 1976; Historia Śląska, vol. 3: *1850-1918,* part 2: *1891-1918*, ed. Stanisław Michalkiewicz et al., Wrocław 1985; *Historia Śląska*, ed. Marek Czapliński, Wrocław 2002; *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna,* ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006; Joachim Bahlcke, *Śląsk i Ślązacy*, translated by Michał Misiorny, Zofia Rybicka, Warsaw 2001.

[7] See Stanisław Salmonowicz, *Fryderyk II*, Wrocław 1981; *idem*, *Prusy. Dzieje państwa i społeczeństwa*, Poznań 1987; Christopher Clark, *Prusy. Powstanie i upadek 1600-1947*, Warsaw 2009.

I recall these events because of their decisive role in the later history of Silesia under the rule of Friedrich II. Under his extremely personal governments, the most important objective was to squeeze the maximum possible revenue from the Silesian land and its people, as well as to turn Silesia into a market for the goods produced by new Brandenburg factories. Following the principles of cameralism, he initiated his rule with the collection of high taxes, excise and import duties, exercising strict control over trade and production. Trade was to ensure the flow of money from abroad, while production was to keep it in the country through the processing of locally-extracted raw materials.

During the rule of Frederic II, we may distinguish the periods of the two Silesian Wars in 1740-1745, peaceful years between 1746 and 1756, and then the time of the Seven Years' War with the peaceful time of 1763-1786. The most dynamic and reform-heavy period of the king's activity took place during the period of the First and Second Silesian Wars, with a new model of governance of Silesia, distinct from the Habsburgs, introduced directly after the conclusion of an agreement with the authorities of Wrocław. The *General-Feldkriegskommissariat* temporarily assumed the administrative duties and resources of the now-defunct Wrocław governor and Silesian chamber. A short time after receiving tribute, Friedrich II implemented further changes in the political structure of Silesia, adapting it to his system of absolutist governments in Prussia. He therefore deprived the local nobility and middle class of their previous political and representative rights, and Wrocław lost its right to municipal self-government. The state structure was untouched, but Silesians were removed from their offices and made to understand that the king alone would be the direct ruler and sole source of law, while implementation laid in the hands of the Prussians.

Counting on a quick end to the war, in January 1742 the king imposed a new administrative division on Silesia, also based on the Prussian model. Two departments were created – Wrocław and Głogów – each of which possessed their own war and domain chambers, along with counties subject to their authority that replaced the duchies and districts (*weichbilds*). He also ordained that his absolutist government in Silesia would be overseen by a Silesian minister reporting directly to him, with the rank of *Wirklicher Geheim Etats- und Kriegsminister*. This function meant that the territorial and economic separation of Silesia from the Kingdom of Prussia would be maintained in its entirety. It would seem that this decision was particularly instrumental in the creation of Silesian regionalism, as it served to maintain the land's particular separateness until 1815, when the Prussian monarchy underwent an internal modernization. The army's need for recruits was met

in 1742, when Friedrich II introduced the Prussian regional system, while 1743 saw the implementation of mandatory 20-year military service for the rural population. Cities, however, were subjected to the imposition of taxes for the maintenance of the armies garrisoned within them. They also incurred expenses for fortifications, particularly great in the period 1745-1756, when new reinforcements were built for the fortresses in Brzeg, Głogów, Kłodzko and Nysa, while others expanded in Wrocław and Świdnica; fortifications were also built in Koźle. The king spent as much as 2/3 of his income from Silesia on placing a 35,000-man army within its territory.

Tremendous destruction and loss of life were the results of the Seven Years' War, during which, in 1757, the inhabitants of Wrocław expressed for the final time their desire to return to being under the rule of Maria Theresa. The failure of her armies, however, rendered this impossible, and both the city's rulers and its residents were punished with reparations and trials for treason. From the conclusion of the war in 1763 the king engaged in intensified commercial activity, colonizing agricultural and forested areas in Upper Silesia. In 1768, he created the legal foundation for the region's industrialization. While he turned the monopoly on coal mining and iron metallurgy over to landowners, the needs of the military dictated that the state's resources were directed towards the extraction of zinc ore and metallurgy. Funds for this purpose were gathered by the General Administration of Excise and Customs Duties (*Régie*), scrupulous in its collections efforts, as well as in establishing royal monopolies. The mercantilism applied in practice led to significant increases in state revenues, but also entailed far-reaching fiscalism and exploitation of the Silesian peasantry and middle class, whose trade and manufacturing activities were subjected to restrictions.

The king employed a model of personal administration by the owner of an estate; he therefore travelled around the country and gave the impression of being in close proximity and exercising direct authority. He demonstrated initiative in introducing new crops into agriculture, as well as in the areas of animal husbandry and forest management. He reduced feudal obligations on serfs within crown lands, but did not demand the same changed be made in estates belonging to the nobility. This was a result of the estate system of his governments, as well as militarism and state bureaucratism, for which the aristocracy and nobility served as a pool of talent for the officer corps and civil service.

As an enlightened despot assuming the mantle of 'servant of the state', Friedrich II displayed concern for the entirety of that state's interests, but his fiscalism and the discipline of his governments were off-putting to his subjects. Extensive

commercial and reformatory activity was conducted within the context of a bureaucratic monarchy which employed strict censorship and was deprived of any political life. The sole newspaper in Silesia, *Schlesische Privilegirte Staats- Kriegs- und Friedens-Zeitung*, published from 3rd January 1742, provided only official government information, with occasional court news. Friedrich II was lauded in Europe for 'rational reforms', including the 1763 imposition of mandatory schooling. He was also applauded for religious tolerance, which meant that he did not engage in confessional disputes; however, he passed Catholics over for civil service offices, and tolerance for Jews in Silesia was for him a commercial enterprise[8]. He was also recognized for taking the lead in eliminating torture and the 1746 initiation of judiciary reform. It was completed by his successor, Friedrich Wilhelm II (1786-1797), in the *Prussian National Law* of 1794 (*Landrecht*). Together with the legal relicts of the feudal estate system, it was inherited from the governments of Friedrich II, whose state in 1786 had grown in size from 120,000 to 200,000 km^2, population from 2.5 million subjects to 6 million, and whose army had grown from 83,000 to 186,000 soldiers.

Friedrich Wilhelm II reduced the financial obligations imposed on the residents of Silesia by Friedrich, and he eliminated the General Administration of Customs and Excise Duties along with some monopolies, while leaving the valuable salt monopoly intact. He permitted Silesians to engage in their own economic initiatives, allowing the region to enter into a phase of proto-industrialization. Relaxation of the system resulted in acceptance of the new monarch's authority, who, during the final years of his rule, was absorbed with the partition of Poland's territory in 1793 and 1795, as well as the participation of Prussian armies in coalitions of European states focused on fighting revolutionary France. Following the birth of the Rhine Coalition and the subjugation of the western portion of Germany, his son, Friedrich Wilhelm III (1797-1840) went to war with the emperor Napoleon, and saw his armies fall to the French ruler on 14th October 1806 in Jena and Auerstädt.

Silesia began feeling the effects of this disaster in November, when the 9th Corps of the Grande Armée, 22,946 soldiers strong and led by Jérôme Bonaparte, began its siege of Głogów. While the French emperor did see Silesia as a secondary objective of his military activity, he sent his brother to the region in order to exploit local resources, prevent Prussia from a potential attack on the southern

[8] Teresa Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2: *Od twierdzy fryderycjańskiej do twierdzy hitlerowskiej*, Wrocław 2001, p. 43. Cf. Michael Morgenbesser, *Geschichte von Schlesien*, ed. Heinrich Schubert, 4th edition, Breslau 1908, p. 290.

flank, and stop them from receiving aid from neighbouring Austrian Silesia. The siege of the Głogów fortifications was completed with the signing of a capitulation on 3rd December, following demands from the fortress's residents who were unsettled by mass desertion of soldiers. The siege of Wrocław begun three days later, resulting in tremendous destruction brought about by the soldiers of the 9th Corps, who enjoyed numerical superiority of 4 to 1 over the defenders of the fortress, was concluded by the capitulation of 5th January 1807. Because the act of capitulation ensured the personal safety and property rights of Wrocław's residents, as well as the preservation of the city's previous authorities, the War and Domain Chamber (*Kriegs- und Domänenkammer*), and other public offices, the French were treated favourably. The Silesian bureaucratic class retained its offices on condition of declaring loyalty to the new ruler.

It should be added that the seizure of Wrocław allowed for the further expansion of the 9th Corps' armies around Silesia, with the war assuming a siege character. The tactic of attacking fortresses brought results, as Brzeg capitulated in January, Świdnica fell in February, and Nysa a short time later. However, the fortresses in Koźle, Srebrna Góra and Kłodzko held out loner. An attack led from the Kłodzko fortress by Colonel Friedrich Wilhelm von Götzen, appointed Governor General of the Prussian armies in Silesia, led to a bloody defeat of the French on 14th May at a battle in Kąty Wrocławskie. However, the Prussian armies were overwhelmed in a battle outside of Szczawienko, near Wałbrzych. Napoleon's armies succeeded in burning down nearly the entirety of Srebrna Góra, but in spite of the capitulation of 16th June they did not take over Koźle or the Kłodzko fortress; the battle was, however, halted on 25th June following a cessation of hostilities called by Napoleon and Friedrich Wilhelm III. In the truce concluded on 9th July in Tylża, Napoleon imposed reparations on the Prussians, while Napoleon's armies were to occupy Silesia until they were entirely paid off.

Attitudes of the Silesian population under French occupation evolved; initially, however, the urban middle class and the peasantry, counting on the removal of the hated, bureaucratic Prussian government and lifting of feudal burdens, displayed far-reaching sympathy for the armies representing revolutionary France. They were indifferent to the fate of the state and the Hohenzollern dynasty. In Upper Silesia, where Poles fought under French command, the local Polish population treated them 'like saviours' and displayed antagonism towards Prussia. However, in the spring of 1807, following destruction, the absence of food, plundering by the occupying army and the fiscalism of the French General Military Commissariat, the attitude of the Silesian populace towards Napoleon's army shifted. Food riots

in Wrocław and Głogów were aimed against it, and there were widespread protests against the mandatory billeting of soldiers in private homes. The year 1807 was a breakthrough moment in relations with the French, as the occupying army was used in the interests of wealthy landowners to pacify the peasantry, which had demanded the lifting of feudal dues and redistribution of grange lands.

After Napoleon established the value of reparations at 120,000,000 thalers, it was then divided among the particular segments of the Prussian monarchy. Silesia saw the mobilization of the civil service, military, intelligentsia and urban classes in order to quickly pay the region's portion of the contribution. After the final payment was made (400,000 thalers) in November 1808, Napoleon's armies began to withdraw from Silesia, their manoeuvres lasting until the end of December. Every town and city held religious and public ceremonies of patriotism and gratitude. These were tremendous days for their inhabitants, and the 19th century's first occurrence of their joint celebration of independence and freedom, foretold in *Städteordnung*. Because Prussia as a whole had not paid its debt resulting from the contribution imposed on it, Napoleon secured its enforcement by leaving a portion of his armies in Głogów until 1814. The return of Silesia to the fold of the Prussian Empire and the Hohenzollern dynasty occurred in December 1808. Authority over Silesia was assumed by the general military commissar General Julius August von Gravert, while the office of general civilian commissar was held by Julius Eberhardt von Massow.

The restoration of royal sovereignty over Silesia took place in a time of systemic political reforms implemented in Prussia in the years 1807-1808 by the Minister of the Interior and First Minister of the Prussian Government, Friedrich Karl von und zu Stein; those reforms were continued in 1810 by Chancellor Karl August von Hardenberg[9]. Stein initiated changes in three spheres: agrarian reform, municipal administrative order and the reorganization of state offices, all of which comprised the so-called 'revolution from above', as the activities of the two politicians were termed. The act of reconstructing the outdated administrative and economic system built by Friedrich was addressed particularly to those social groups which were to assume the greatest burden of further war with Napoleon. An edict of 9th October 1807 ended the serfdom of the peasants and lifted the restrictions on the purchase of land by the urban classes. However, determination of the procedures for implementing the regulations on the possession of land by the peasants and the

[9] Leszek Ziątkowski, *Między niemożliwym a koniecznym. Reformy państwa pruskiego w końcu XVIII i na początku XIX wieku a proces równouprawnienia Żydów ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem sytuacji na Śląsku*, Wrocław 2007, pp. 56-58.

full elimination of their duties towards masters was put off, owing to strong opposition, particularly fierce in Silesia, which was displayed by landowners. Thus the regulation act of 1811 and the declaration of 1816 turned out to be half-measures. The royal *Städteordnung* edict of 19th November 1808, establishing municipal self-government, was also subjected to fierce protests as it eliminated the previous privileges exercised in cities by aristocratic and military bureaucracies; it also liquidated private municipalities, which were dominant in Upper Silesia. Urbanites, given the title of citizens, acquired through the city council influence over many different areas of life, including social and political activity. The internal reorganization of the state led to modernization of its instruments of governance and the creation of the council of ministers (1814) as well as the division of the country into provinces in 1808, which saw Silesia confirmed as a province in 1815 following new territorial acquisitions by Prussia.

The Hardenberg reforms, who associated modernization of the country with the urban classes, had a financial dimension in conjunction with the payment of the contribution. Secularization of Church dominions was effected in 1810, industrial tax reform in the same year, as well as statutory liberalization of the forms of production in 1811 which removed the feudal guild system. A small portion of the significant income acquired from secularization of church estates in Silesia was earmarked by the state in 1811 for the foundation of University of Wrocław, boosting the scholarly prestige of the Silesian capital[10]. The defeat of the Prussian armies in 1806-1807 also led to military reform, which was initiated by the Commission for Army Reorganization. The conducted reforms were instrumental in the development of patriotism and a feeling of loyalty to the state, visible in the attitudes of Silesians during the 1813 the German Campaign (*Befreiungskrieg*). They also impacted the population in other parts of the Reich, and Prussia, owing to its readiness sacrifice, found itself among those ultimately victorious over Napoleon and acquiring significant amounts of land during the the Congress of Vienna. Silesia itself was also significantly expanded at the cost of the Napoleon-supporting Saxony, which lost four counties from Upper Lusatia (approx. 20,000 km^2) including the cities of Lubań, Zgorzelec, and Rotenburg and Hoyerswerda (Wojerecy). A new administrative division of the Silesian province was also introduced at the time, with three regencies formed in 1820 – Wrocław, Opole and Legnica, a division which lasted until 1918.

[10] Josef Joachim Menzel, *Die Säkularisation in Schlesien 1810*, [in:] *Säkularisationen in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Jochen Köhler, Köln 1984, pp. 91-92.

The years following the Congress of Vienna did not see a relaxation of tensions within the province, as in 1817 Friedrich Wilhelm III engaged in joining and subjugating the two wings of the Protestant faith, that is the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Reformed Church. The union provoked years of protests from members of both faiths, the most severe coming in 1830, leading to the emergence of the Old Lutheran Church. The state also attempted to bring the Catholic Church to heel, disbanding the Wrocław cathedral chapter and forming the so-called supplementary chapter. It was granted recognition by the Pope, and in 1821 a special papal bull titled *De salutate animarum* was issued, under which the Wrocław diocese was separated from the Gniezno metropole and subjected directly to the Holy See. The diocese was a large one, encompassing Silesia, parts of Bohemia, Brandenburg and Berlin, and Szczecin in Pomerania.

Participants in the German Campaign accused the king of failing to follow through with reforms announced in 1813, including the introduction of constitutional governments and the lifting of censorship. This served as the backdrop for an opposition movement led by students from Wrocław, grouped in regional associations and unions (*Landsmannschaften*) such as Borussia and Polonia, as well as German-wide ones (*Burschenschaften*), e.g. Teutonia and Arminia. The police were employed in disbanding them in 1823, and their members suffered repression and long prison sentences (6-15 years). Some of them only regained their freedom[11] after Friedrich Wilhelm IV ascended to the throne in 1840. The new king raised political hopes, particularly among the educated urbanite class of Wrocław, which presented a petition asking for the expansion of the estate parliamentary system, seeking its own place. However, the petitioners in fact served to expose the city to the monarch's disfavour, additionally discouraging him from making his inaugural visit.

Expectations of political change went unfulfilled, and both economic crisis and natural disasters in the 1840s electrified the public mood, leading to strengthened demands for the creation of a state-wide assembly that would limit the autocratic powers of the king's government. This is why Silesia reacted with such enthusiasm to information about the February 1848 revolution in Paris, and Wrocław – together with Berlin – led the radical-democratic opposition among urbanites, engaged in the election campaign to the National Assembly (*Deutsche Nationalversammlung*) in Berlin and the all-German parliament holding its sessions in Frankfurt am Main. Of significance is that the animated political activity taking place in Silesia and outside its borders facilitated the development of railway lines beginning in 1842,

[11] T. Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2, pp. 158-159, compare: pp.142-143.

which served to link its sub-regions – Lower and Upper Silesia – which had previously functioned as separate entities. With the assistance of the army, the ruling dynasty succeeded in defending itself against the proposed changes, and the failure of the revolution in 1849 led to terror. Arrests were conducted around the province, political journals, clubs and unions were eliminated, and the public sphere was taken over by the right-wing Junkers, with the estate-based divisions of society preserved and petrified by the provisions of the constitution passed on 31st January 1850.

The progressing psychological illness of Friedrich Wilhelm IV led to his brother Wilhelm assuming the regency in 1858, and later becoming the King of Prussia (1861) and Emperor (1871). His appointment of Otto von Bismarck as prime minister was received with approval by right-wing circles in Silesia, as his views were known from his visits to Wrocław. The 1864 victory of Prussia and Austria over Denmark during the war which he caused was celebrated on 23rd May with the first public gatherings permitted by the police since 1849. In 1866, the victory over Austria was accepted with approval, as it demonstrated the strength of the Prussian army; its defeat served to delay the plan of a 'greater German' concept for unification of the Reich, favouring the 'little German' conception – Prussian, wrecked in the popular imagination by Friedrich Wilhelm IV in 1849[12]. The convening of the North German Parliament by Bismarck in 1867, and most of all the impressive victory over Napoleon III in 1870, led to the creation of what many Silesians had desired, the German Reich.

However, first a new chapter opened in relations between Silesia and Berlin, the capital of the Reich and of Prussia, as the interests of Westphalia and the Rhineland, acquired by Prussia in 1815, came to the fore. Their economic potential was greater, and they were devoid of the difficult confessional and national relations present in Silesia. Asymmetry of the government's policy towards the two halves of the Prussian state was revealed by the division of funds taken from the French in the form of reparations, as well as the small number of state investments in Silesia. This was demonstrated in such examples as the continual rescheduling, up until the beginning of the 20th century, of the Odra River's dredging, which lost its previous position as the central transport axis of Prussia in favour of an inland navigation systems of the Rhine and the Elbe, used by influential western German economic interests. The construction Germany and Austria of an Odra-Danube connection, planned for the 1880s and revived during World War I, was supposed to serve as an alternative[13]. It should be

[12] Jan Wąsicki, *Związek Niemiecki i Druga Rzesza Niemiecka 1848-1914*, Poznań 1989.

[13] Karol Jońca, *Projekty budowy dróg wodnych Odra-Dunaj i Odra-Wisła w latach 1914-1945,* 'Studia Śląskie', New Series, 7 (1963), pp. 181-186.

emphasized that Upper Silesian industry was at a disadvantage owing to its problematic location at the geographic and transportation periphery of the state. This is why reductions in railway tariffs on the transport of Silesian products into the heart of the Reich were so important, and also why they were not implemented until 1918, because of the competition those goods would pose for products on those markets.

In proceeding to the signalling of changes in Silesian internal social and political relations following the unification of Germany, it is worth mentioning that in 1872 the authorities of the Reich, particularly Chancellor Bismarck himself, threw the eastern provinces into a battle with the Catholic Church (*Kulturkampf*). Bismarck officially presented his activities as a battle for a national German culture free from external influence and a secular state; in fact, he had found a pretext for uniting Protestant Germans and for attacking the Catholic Polish population[14]. Destabilization of church relations within the Diocese of Wrocław and the repercussions associated with closing the Faculty of Catholic Theology at the University of Wrocław, including the expulsion of a large number of monastic fellowships, lasted until 1887 when the Diocese of Wrocław was taken over by Georg Kopp. The years of divisive conflict and brutality of the authorities towards the Catholic population[15] impacted the entire population of Silesia. Internal divisions arose as a result of the conflict, as did the emergence of many polarizing differences whose complex political and cultural effects remained salient until the end of the Second Reich. The sharpness of the nationality conflict was particular to the Silesian province, distinguishing it from the remaining Prussian provinces in the east of Germany. The results of the conflict were particularly evident in Upper Silesia, visible in the attitudes of the dominant Polish-speaking Catholic population and serving to slow its acculturation. Linguistic discrimination in formal education and in the priesthood contributed to a strengthening of national sentiment. In turn, the lack of defensive efforts on the part of the Catholic Centre Party (*Zentrum*), led to a political decoupling from its influence, which resulted in the 1903 election of a representative to the Reichstag, with five entering the parliament in the elections of 1907.

Phenomena in the internal political and cultural life of the Silesian region intensified during the drawn-out period of World War I, concluding with the military collapse of the Germany army and its imperial leadership. The mass participation of Poles in the war did not alter the policies of the Silesian authorities in respect

[14] Lech Trzeciakowski, *Kulturkampf w zaborze pruskim*, Poznań 1970; compare: Friedrich Schinkel, *Polen, Preußen und Deutschland*, Breslau 1931.

[15] Ks. Wacław Śmigielski, *Między ołtarzem a więzieniem. Wspomnienia z Kulturkampfu 1875-1877*, Poznań 1937.

of discrimination against the Polish population. They did not want to follow in the footsteps of the Poznań region's authorities and restore religious instruction in Polish, but rather they used the war as an excuse for further restrictions, such as in amateur theatre, performances by choirs, and in the activities of gymnastics societies[16]. The famous '14 Points' of President Thomas Woodrow Wilson, published on 8th January 1918 and adopted by the Reichstag on 6th October as the framework for German peace talks, posited in point 13 the creation of an united, independent Poland. It motivated a significant portion of the Polish population to engage in a common and purposeful battle for a separate national identity.

For the authorities in Berlin, it was obvious that the future of Upper Silesia was under the greatest threat; they thus sought means of rescuing it and keeping it within the German fold. Of significance is the response to the demands of the Berlin authorities offered by the president of the Opole regency, who proposed the 'immediate' lifting of all exceptional legislation and the granting of cultural autonomy to the Polish population, for otherwise 'Upper Silesia will be lost as a German province'[17]. The needs of the Polish population, which had gone unfulfilled for decades, were well-understood, yet this policy was not amended in spite of the military and political disaster of 1918. The effects of the war, however, were ultimately disintegrating factors for Silesia as a whole[18], which was first divided into the provinces of Upper and Lower Silesia under legislation passed by the Landtag of Prussia in October 1919. After a plebiscite conducted in Upper Silesia in March 1921, 30% of the territory of Upper Silesia was incorporated into Poland. Taking into account the historical factors leading to this decision, later confirmed by the League of Nations in 1922, judgements of the Hohenzollerns' rule over Silesia cannot be exclusively positive.

[16] Edward Mendel, *Polacy na Górnym Śląsku w latach I wojny światowej. Położenie i postawa*, Katowice 1971.

[17] Marian Orzechowski, *Wojciech Korfanty. Biografia polityczna,* Wrocław 1975, p. 180, compare: p. 198.

[18] For more see: *Podział Śląska w 1922 r. Okoliczności i następstwa*, eds Andrzej Brożek, Teresa Kulak, Wrocław 1996.

Map 1. Silesia in 1811 (Dariusz Przybytek)

Paweł Jaworski
University of Wrocław

State and local administration in Silesia in 1740–1918 as a factor in regional (dis)integration

Abstract:

After his conquest of Silesia Friedrich II (the Great) brought from Prussia clerks and formed structures similar to those in Prussia for the purpose of exacting his authority. The Silesians were included in the administration only on lower, local levels, since the exploitation of the new province was the primary goal of state administration. The modernization of the state in the Napoleon era went hand in hand with the removal of the autonomy of Silesia in 1808, it became a province like any other in Prussia. The state thus perpetuated Silesia as a separate region, while simultaneously removing the possibility of growth for regional separatism. Most likely the separation of Opole region led to the development of sub-regional identity of Upper Silesia. The provincial council could have played a role in the integration of the denizens of the region, it was however too tightly controlled by the state administration. Even after 1875, when the council's influence was increased, it still remained within the overall structure of state bureaucracy. Provincial administration was subject to the rulers as well as both Silesian gentry and big industry. Clerks from these social groups were conservative, opposed to any changes to the status quo. They were diligent in employing Berlin's policies, actively opposing the Catholic Church in the times of *Kulturkampf* and removing the Polish language from schools and public life. Thus they germinated conflict in local communities, strengthening their religious identity and national identity. The bureaucracy cared more about the centralised integrity of Silesia, with regional recognition and identity having low priority.

Keywords:

Silesia, administration, self-government, political life, Church history

Friedrich the Great's successful persecution of the war with the Habsburg Monarchy, begun in December 1740, led to the majority of Silesia finding itself under Prussian rule. This state of affairs continued up to the 20th century. Particularly beginning with the Napoleonic era, it was a time of bureacratic expansion and the formation of the 'civil servant class'. The process of professionalization initiated at the beginning of the 19th century led to the presence of around one million professional civil servants by the end of the era, around 390,000 of whom were employed in administration and the judiciary. Prussian tradition demanded that civil servants take an oath of loyalty as servants of the king. They were subjected to rigorous recruitment standards which gave preference to lawyers. During the reign of Friedrich II, the civil servant class was dominated by the nobility, whose

position remained stable throughout the entire 19th century. They were typical statemen, who equated the public good with serving their ruler. Their capacity to act independently in a political capacity was restricted by regulations, and those who violated these rules were subjected to repressions. Non-Protestants were clearly discriminated against in hiring and promotion. In 1873, a law was passed which obliged civil servants to conduct themselves in a dignified manner not only during the performance of their duties, but also in their private lives. It also provided certain privileges, such as the right to retain a salary once awarded, and the right to a retirement pension. This, combined with the prestige enjoyed by the bureaucracy, encouraged many to seek employment in public administration[1].

While there are no published works addressing the nature of Prussian administration in the province of Silesia, we may assume that the characteristics described in monographs regarding the general subject of bureaucratism in Germany and the eastern provinces of Prussia were present here as well[2]. In spite of regional differences, the centralized and administratively unified state was widely regarded as the ideal model. We may refer to the views of the classic German legal scholar Robert Mohl, a liberal and supporter of parliamentary government as well as author of the definition of the state governed by the rule of law (*der Rechtsstaat*); in his 1859 *Encyclopaedia of Political Skills* he presented his concept of a 'real' system as the 'most appropriate', defining it as a state where the territory presents a unified whole, yet as he also wrote: 'in states populated by various nations, with various levels of education, and thus with various needs, having various views on life, or also where a part of one territory has recently and not entirely voluntarily been incorporated, it would seem that maintaining differences in the governance of provinces

[1] Hans Fenske, *Bürokratie in Deutschland. Vom späten Kaiserreich bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin 1985; Harro-Jürgen Rejewski, *Die Pflicht zur politischen Treue im preußischen Beamtenrecht (1850–1918). Eine rechtshistorische Untersuchung anhand von Ministerialakten aus dem Geheimen Staatsarchiv der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Berlin 1973; Tibor Süle, *Preußische Bürokratietradition. Zur Entwicklung von Verwaltung und Beamtenschaft in Deutschland 1871–1918*, Göttingen 1988; Bernd Wunder, *Geschichte der Bürokratie in Deutschland*, Frankfurt am Main 1986; John R. Gillis, *Aristocracy and bureaucracy in nineteenth-century Prussia*, 'Past and Present', 41 (1968), pp. 105-129; Marek Czapliński, *Biurokracja niemieckiego imperium kolonialnego. Charakterystyka urzędników kolonialnych*, Wrocław 1985, pp. 11-14.

[2] The following works are particularly helpful: *Verwaltungsgeschichte Ostdeutschlands 1815–1945. Organisation – Aufgaben – Leistungen der Verwaltung*, eds Gerd Heinrich, Freidrich-Wilhelm Henning, Kurt G.A. Jeserich, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1993; *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte*, eds Kurt G.A. Jeserich, Hans Pohl, Georg-Christoph von Unruh, vol. 1: *Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ende des Reiches*; vol. 2: *Vom Reichsdeputationshauptschluß bis zur Auflösung des Deutschen Bundes*; vol. 3: *Das Deutsche Reich bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, Stuttgart 1983–1984.

would be, at least for a time, the most appropriate'[3]. Rudolf Gneist, creator of the German conception of local self-government, supported the concept of a decentralized but unitary state. He placed greater value on effective administration than the parliamentary system. In his view, self-government was to serve as the foundation of state unity[4]. In this context, regions could be regarded as merely a helpful intermediate rung on the ladder of the structures of state governance. Their distinctness could not pose a threat to the cohesion of the monarchy. State unity and regional diversity were thus diametrically opposed concepts.

In respect of administration, was Silesia distinct from other provinces? It certainly had its own peculiarities. We may cite the opinion formulated years later in the memoirs of Georg Michaelis, vice president of the Legnica regency (*Präsidialrat*) beginning in 1900, then vice presidential councillor of Silesia (*Oberpräsidialrat*) in 1902–1909, that Silesia was 'the most interesting province of the Prussian state to administer, particularly for higher provincial authorities, who could not even suspect what a wonderful place it was to work. A rich and expanding agricultural economy; prosperous industry unparalleled in all of Germany; a productive yet not entirely regulated network of waterways; religious and ethnic diversity exercising influence on the practice of civil service; difficult border conditions; extreme social contrasts – on the one hand, magnates of giant landed aristocracy and industry, on the other hand, the starving weavers of the Sudeten Foothills (*Pogórze Sudeckie*) – splendid rolling plains and mountainous localities with resorts, natural springs and the danger of flooding – the object of oversight and care by state authorities, an opportunity to support and help, but also to err and regret. It was a terrible responsibility'[5]. The aim of this work is to investigate the development of administrative and self-government structures, as well as the impact of their activities on the integrity of the region.

The region as a territorial unit

As a result of the peace concluded in Berlin following the war waged between Prussia and the Habsburg Monarchy in 1740–1742, Silesia was partitioned into two

[3] Robert von Mohl, *Encyklopedia umiejętności politycznych*, translated by Antoni Białecki, Warszawa 2003, pp. 532-534.

[4] Jerzy Krasuski, *Kulturkampf. Katolicyzm i liberalizm w Niemczech w XIX wieku*, Wrocław 2009, p. 55.

[5] Georg Michaelis, *Für Staat und Volk. Eine Lebensgeschichte*, Berlin 1922, p. 200. A comprehensive biography was published several years ago: Bert Becker, *Georg Michaelis. Preußischer Beamter, Reichskanzler, Christlicher Reformer 1857–1936. Eine Biographie*, Paderborn 2007.

parts. This war was later named the First Silesian War. The Second Silesian War played out in 1744–1745, followed in 1756–1763 by the Third Silesian War (also referred to as the Seven Years' War), but these conflicts did not influence the territorial situation. The majority of Silesia and the Kłodzko region was annexed by Prussia. The southern portion of the Duchies of Nysa, Krnov and Opava formed the region referred to as Opavian Silesia, which, combined with nearly all of the Duchy of Cieszyn, comprised so-called Austrian Silesia, with an area of 5,147 km^2. Opava was the site of the Crown Office, which was the highest body of the Habsburg administration in an area that did not yet constitute a unified whole. When it was accepted that there was no chance of recovering the Silesian lands lost to Friedrich II, in 1782 the administration of Austrian Silesia was combined with that of Moravia, making the Moravia-Silesian Governorate with its capital in Brno, while Silesia itself was divided into the two districts of Opava and Cieszyn. The provincial diet was maintained, but its powers curbed. It was not until 1850 that Silesia was separated from Moravia in fear of its excessive integration with Czech lands, and as an independent province it was administratively directly subordinated to the central authorities in Vienna. Supreme authority in Silesia was exercised by a regent headquartered in Opava, then from 1854 by a regional government headed by a president. The division into the two regions of Opava and Cieszyn was maintained in the judicial sphere, as the two largest urban centres retained their status as seats of regional courts. The county served as a lower-ranking administrative unit, and as the place where local authority was focused. Austrian Silesia was not a unitary region, and was clearly divided into smaller units centred around Opava and Cieszyn[6].

In Prussian Silesia, the borders of historical principalities and counties generally retained their borders unchanged, with some smaller units incorporated into larger ones. The three counties of Nowogród, Przewóz and Żagań were combined into one large county in Żagań, while the counties of Prudnik, Biała and Głogówek were fashioned into one county in Prudnik (the capital initially was located in Głogówek). The counties of Toszek and Gliwice were joined together to form the 'dual' county of Toszek-Gliwice. From among the former free states, only Bytom, Milicz and Pszczyna retained their status, becoming the capitals of newly formed counties. In 1741, the Free State of Żmigród was elevated to the status of a principality. At times the situation prevailing at the juncture of individual administrative units was quite murky, particularly in areas where enclaves were

[6] Dan Gawrecki a kol., *Dějiny Českého Slezska*, Opava 2003; Dan Gawrecki, *Schlesien in der Habsburgermonarchie – Begriffe, Territorium, Periodisirung*, [in:] *Śląsk za panowania Habsburgów*, eds Wiesław Lesiuk and Michał Lis, Opole 2001, pp. 73-85.

in existence. Prussian Silesia was home to four such enclaves, around Świebodzin in Brandenburg and several villages in Lusatia[7].

Generally speaking, Friedrich II combined smaller historical territorial units into larger ones, shifted borders across older units, but rarely eliminated or established entirely new districts[8]. While these changes were not especially far reaching, they may be explained as administratively pragmatic decisions. In 1741 the General War Commissary (*General-Feldkriegskommissariat*) took over the administrative duties of the Wrocław regional council and the Silesian chamber. Next, two war and domain chambers were founded (in Wrocław and Głogów), which over time became instruments of state economic, fiscal and tax policy. Employing a large number of Silesians, they were involved in providing supplies to the military, collecting taxes, regulation of agriculture and matters related to mining.

Friedrich II emphasized the regional distinctness of Silesia. He created the special office of minister of the Silesia, which was also the president of the war and domain chambers (subordinated to the General Directorate in Berlin). Civil servants from other provinces became the ministers; nevertheless, the exceptional position of Silesia was highlighted given its status as the most recently conquered and largest province in the Prussian state. The minister for Silesia was directly subordinate to the king, and his office was located in Wrocław[9]. The king aimed for more efficient and effective administration, as well as tighter control. It is generally acknowledged that Minister Karl Georg von Hoym, in office from 1770, enjoyed far-reaching independence, but more extensive investigation of source materials on his rule needs to be performed. However, it may be assumed that Hoym was primarily concerned with the expectations of the Prussian king, who himself was exclusively interested in the exploitation of the province and maintaining its loyalty. That loyalty, as it were, proved brittle. As a result of the successes of the Austrian side during the Seven Years' War, the Silesian people vented their displeasure with Friedrich's rule. What turned out to be the temporary departure of the Prussian armies

[7] For more detailed information, see Andrzej Scheer, *Zmiany granic Śląska na przestrzeni wieków*, Świdnica 2002, pp. 31–33.

[8] Kazimierz Orzechowski, *Terytorialne podziały na Śląsku*, 'Kwartalnik Opolski', 18 (1972), No. 2, p. 34. See also: Kazimierz Orzechowski, Dariusz Przybytek, Marian Ptak, *Dolny Śląsk: podziały terytorialne od X do XX wieku*, Wrocław 2008.

[9] Harm Klueting, *Die politisch-administrative Integration Preußisch-Schlesiens unter Friedrich II*, [in:] *Kontinuität und Wandel. Schlesien zwischen Österreich und Preußen. Ergebnisse eines Symposions in Würzburg vom 29. bis 31. Oktober 1987*, eds Peter Baumgart, Ulrich Schmilewski, Sigmaringen 1990, p. 53; Peter Baumgart, *Die Annexion und Eingliederung Schlesiens in den friderizianischen Staat*, [in:] *Expansion und Integration. Zur Eingliederung neugewonnener Gebiete in den preußischen Staat*, ed. Peter Baumgart, Köln 1984, pp. 84–118.

was greeted with relief. Even Bishop Philipp Gotthard von Schaffgotsch, appointed to his position by the chapter with the support of the king, failed to remain loyal to him[10]. One of the insufficient steps taken by the king was to abolish religious restrictions on Protestants (over 200 new Protestant churches were raised in a short time)[11].

As it were, Friedrich's rule meant financial exploitation, as well as military burdens. It was a strain to maintain the Prussian army, as was conscription, conducted according to the division of Silesia into 15 cantons. The higher social classes were released from military service, as well as some counties (the Sudeten Foothills and Wrocław). Recruitment to particular military units was associated with specific cantons. The concentration of people from the same region in the same military divisions (13 Silesian regiments) may have provided a modicum of support for integration, but primarily the fact of service itself gave rise to social discontent. The announcement in 1743 of the edict on universal compulsory military service in Silesia led to the mass emigration of youth across the border[12].

In essence, fundamental decisions about the internal life of Silesia were taken in Berlin. Higher administrative positions were given to Protestant functionaries from outside of Silesia, but it should be noted that their Catholic Habsburg predecessors were also not all of Silesian descent. Only loosely associated with Silesia, they maintained their primary seats in other parts of the monarchy. Here, they were regarded as outsiders[13]. In examining the strategy adopted by Friedrich II in awarding civil service positions, we may observe the clear limits of his religious tolerance[14]. Friedrich II felt that the advantage enjoyed by Protestantism over Catholicism lay in its full submission to state authorities. In any event, a wholesale exchange of the entire public administration elite was effected. Catholics loyal to the Habsburgs were supplanted by Protestants, as according to Friedrich II, Catholicism and the Jesuits at its head were conspiring against the state[15]. In practice, inconsistencies can

[10] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 1, part 3, pp. 512–513.

[11] In 1800, an American observer of Silesian relations was impressed by religious tolerance in the province ('Upon the order of Friedrich II, a figure of St. John of Nepomuk, the patron of Bohemia, was placed on the tower [in the Kłodzko fortress] facing this land, which greatly pleased the Catholic population and reconciled it with the rule of heretics'). His positive opinion should be treated with reserve (John Quincy Adams, *Listy o Śląsku*, Wrocław–Warszawa 1992, p. 93).

[12] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 507.

[13] Gabriela Wąs, *Dzieje Śląska od 1526 do 1806 roku*, [in:] *Historia Śląska*, ed. M. Czapliński, p. 202.

[14] Anton Schindling, *Friedrichs des Großen Toleranz und seine katholischen Untertanen*, [in:] *Kontinuität und Wandel*, pp. 262 and 270.

[15] Jerzy Myszor, *Duchowieństwo katolickie na Śląsku 1742–1914. Z dziejów duszpasterstwa w diecezji wrocławskiej*, Katowice 2011, p. 33; Grzegorz Kucharczyk, *Kulturkampf. Walka Berlina*

be observed, for Jesuites, while not trusted, were permitted to operate schools, which was regarded as a beneficial activity from the perspective of the state's interests[16]. The office of bishop had a political dimension, which is why Prussian authorities openly interfered in the election process. Additionally, the bishop of Wrocław was the sole Catholic bishop in the entire Prussian state[17]. Provincial authorities took care to ensure the proper composition of the chapter. As a rule, the king's candidate was rammed through, which did not necessarily entail the bishops' acceptance of state policy assumptions as a priority[18]. The relations between the Prussian state and the Catholic Church were in a state of constant tension. These efforts reached their apex in 1810, when Church lands were secularized and the majority of Catholic institutions and organizations were rolled up.

The preferential treatment by Friedrich II of Protestants undoubtedly gave rise to displeasure, particularly in Upper Silesia. However, offices had previously been occupied by Catholics, which was unpalatable to the Protestants of Lower Silesia. At that time, only the duke of Oleśnica and emissaries of Wrocław represented Protestants in the Silesian convent (*conventus publicus*), known as the general diet. Now, while the division into duchies was retained, they were only left with judicial powers. Prussian authorities disposed of the Silesian convent and state representations of the duchies. In that manner the national governments were degraded – they were left with only certain judicial and representative powers, but deprived of influence over administration. Duchies were shunted out of the administrative sphere and reduced to social units. Having once played an important role, they ceased to have any impact on local politics with the close of the 18th century. Cities were also subjected to internal organizational changes. Protestant civil servants loyal to Friedrich II, both from inside and outside Silesia, were appointed to offices.

The division into chambers and counties did not encompass cities, which constituted separate taxation districts. A total of 10 taxation districts were established for those cities that paid the tribute known as excise tax[19]. While the borders of counties served as the basis for divisions, there was significant variation across various levels of administration depending on competencies. The judiciary was centralized. The king appointed the minister of justice for Silesia. After a few years, three judicial

z katolicyzmem (1846–1918), Warszawa 2009, p. 17; Hans-Wolfgang Bergerhausen, *Friedenrecht und Toleranz. Zur Politik des preußischen Staates gegenüber der katholischen Kirche in Schlesien 1740–1806*, Würzburg 1999, pp. 28–31.

[16] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, pp. 33–34.

[17] G. Wąs, *Dzieje Śląska*, p. 218.

[18] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 149.

[19] For detailed information, see: K. Orzechowski, *Terytorialne podziały*, p. 36.

districts were established, referred to as regencies, in Głogów, Wrocław and Opole (later transferred to Brzeg). The system excluded courts in areas which had their own rulers, in duchies and free states, taking account of local tradition. Collegial courts were staffed exclusively by Silesians[20].

The *Landrat* offices also had their role to perform in the absolutist system of efficient Prussian state administration, but they did not yet possess the competencies they would have in the 19th century. Perhaps this is why their functions were performed exclusively by members of the Silesian nobility – one of the candidates from among those of the provincial diet's was appointed by the king. This procedure was a leftover of the long-defunct Silesian state (with its numerous particularities)[21]. The *Landrat* was responsible for the execution of royal decrees, while at the same time it represented the interests of the nobility, which 'led to a unique duality of the office'[22]. Several dozen local assemblies were to become effective tools of Prussian centralism. At the same time, it is difficult to say that integration of Silesians at the provincial level was a reality[23].

Order was imposed on the system of state management, which was also reinforced with the 1794 codification of the law in the form of the Common Law of the Prussian State (*Allgemeines Landrechts für die Preußischen Staates*), with substantive and procedural criminal law grounded in humanitarian ideas. For Silesia, this amounted to affirmation of the system of local administration based on the old Prussian division of the country (the establishment of treasury councillors, who were crown servants responsible for oversight and decision making in matters concerning cities, as well as *Landrat's* responsible for rural affairs). As a general proposition, it may be said that higher offices in administration continued to be the domain of servants from other parts of the kingdom. They did not enjoy a positive reputation, viewed as having a higher income and greater powers yet distinguishing themselves from their Habsburg predecessors by their particularly boorish behaviour. Administration controlled key areas of daily life.

There was no collision between centralization within the framework of the monarchy and differentiation in the treatment of Lower and Upper Silesia resulting

[20] G. Wąs, *Dzieje Śląska,* p. 211.

[21] According to G. Wąs, *Dzieje Śląska*, p. 206, between 1744 and 1770 provincial diet's were not allowed to convene at all.

[22] Małgorzata Konopnicka, *Szlachcic śląski w administracji powiatu. Kryteria wyboru i motywy karier landratów w latach 1740–1806,* [in:] *Szlachta europejska w strukturach lokalnych XVI-XVIII wieku*, eds Małgorzata Konopnicka, Jarosław Kuczer, Wojciech Strzyżewski, Zielona Góra 2010, p. 222.

[23] Stanisław Śreniowski, *Historia ustroju Śląska*, Katowice–Wrocław 1948, pp. 220–221.

from religious and ethnic differences. In Lower Silesia the right of presentation of candidates by estates was retained. In Upper Silesia, this 'selection by estates' did not exist[24]. The basic criteria for selection was noble descent and residence in a given county (there were precious few deviations from the latter rule, concerning Upper Silesia where the Lower Silesian nobility was engaged). Additionally, candidates' financial resources, loyalty and predispositions were examined to get a measure of their dedication and conscientiousness. Protestant beliefs and at least a secondary level of education were also considered advantages. Positive assessment of performance in office by *Landrat's* often proved the key to opening the doors of promotion to other institutions, such as in credit lands[25]. The strategic significance of the County of Kłodzko led to a unique situation there. The Wrocław chamber selected the *Landrat*, who was at the same time a treasury councillor. The king additionally appointed a military governor for the County of Kłodzko.

The wide range of dissimilarities between Upper and Lower Silesia exerted strong centrifugal forces that separated the region into two distinct sub regions based on religion (Catholic east, Protestant west) and language (German west, bilingual or Polish east). The pull of the Polish-language borderlands in the east was paid little heed due to the absence of a Polish state following the elimination of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The pull of Catholic Austria was regarded as a threat, which led to the initiation of measures designed to ameliorate centrifugal tendencies. In large measure these measures involved the harassment and persecution of land owners living in Habsburg-controlled territory, to induce them to sell their estates. This was particularly prevalent in Upper Silesia. Additionally, Friedrich, seeking to break all bonds linking Silesia with Austria, forbade the pursuit of university studies abroad, service in armies other than the Prussian army and mixed marriages. In 1779, Friedrich II threatened to appoint only graduates of Silesian universities to parish offices[26].

The drive for regional integration was visible in measures intended to unify Catholic diocesan boundaries with administrative borders, which was effected as a means of subordinating the Church to make it a tool of state policy. The majority of the Silesian province as annexed by Prussia belonged to the Diocese of Wrocław, but Friedrich desired to eliminate the dependencies of some Silesian regions on bishops in Kraków, Olomouc and Prague; he found a ready ally in the bishop of Wrocław, Philipp Ludwig von Sinzendorf. Following his death, Friedrich secured the Bishopric

[24] M. Konopnicka, *Szlachcic*, p. 224.
[25] *Ibidem*, pp. 234–235.
[26] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 112.

of Wrocław for the previously mentioned Schaffgotsch[27]. However, these unification efforts were not a total success; nevertheless, in 1753–1754 Friedrich succeeded in forcing the creation of Silesian monastic provinces. The County of Kłodzko remained within the borders of the Diocese of Prague. In addition, a portion of the Diocese of Wrocław remained within the borders of the Habsburg Empire (Jawornik, Jesenik, Vidnava, Zlaté Hory and the Duchy of Cieszyn), while others within the Olomouc region (Kietrz, Hlučín, Głubczyce) became part of Prussia. However, Ostrzeszów and Kępno, which for centuries had been part of the Diocese of Wrocław, as well as some parishes near Wschowa and Szlichtyngowa, were incorporated into the Archdiocese of Gniezno-Poznań[28].

There were no such problems with the Protestant church, which was subordinated in its entirety to the state. There were the Supreme Consistories (*Oberkonsistorium*) of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Wrocław, Głogów and Opole regencies, but in this case as well territorial divisions were not entirely synonymous with Silesian regency districts[29]. It is worth noting that evangelical church structures were relatively weak in Upper Silesia, which was the result of that region's majority Catholic presence.

***

As of 1806, the unification of administrative systems had not yet been achieved (for example, customs borders were retained), but similar structures of authority and governance structures had been adopted. Silesians had no opportunities to engage politically. They were gifted offices of little import to the state as a whole, but were permitted to dominate at a lower local level. In the opinion of Gabriela Wąs, author of a history of modern Silesia, the centralized system of governance whose structures and shared institutions bound the entire region, reinforced Silesians' feelings of otherness. It should be noted that from the beginning Friedrich II supported

[27] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 507.

[28] The Dioceses of Wrocław was further enlarged by the Catholic enclaves in Protestant surroundings (Berlin, Potsdam, Frankfurt (Oder), Szczecin etc.). For detailed information, see: J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 25. As has been stated by rev. Józef Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku. Czasy nowożytne (1741-1845)*: vol. 3, part 1, Warszawa 2012, p. 38: 'In the end, Friedrich II decided that reconciling the political borders of his state with the borders of church structures was difficult to implement and of rather small importance in the perspective of his interests and plans. He obtained considerable power over the Church, bishops from Prague, Olomouc and Poland were not able to influence their congregations to his detriment'.

[29] K. Orzechowski, *Terytorialne podziały*, pp. 42–43. The following districts from the Głogów department were not included in the consistorial district of Głogów: Lwówek-Bolesławiec, Jelenia Góra, Jawor and Żmigród-Milicz (they formed part of the consistorial district of Wrocław). The consistorial district of Wrocław did not include the Nysa and Grodków district and the Duchy of Oleśnica. Furthermore, there was a separate mediatised consistory for Wrocław.

maintaining the separate status of the County of Kłodzko, directly administered by the Silesia ministry, and thus outside the power of the Wrocław chamber. As previously mentioned, this distinctness necessitated that the region remain part of the Diocese of Prague of the Catholic Church, while the majority of the Silesian province belonged to the Diocese of Wrocław. The bonds between County of Kłodzko and Silesia within one provincial structure were weakened by the exceptional treatment of the former due to its strategic importance. Nevertheless, it would be a stretch to consider this a disintegrating factor in respect of Silesia as a region, as the County of Kłodzko was not previously considered to be within its borders.

The Stein-Hardenberg Reforms: pro- or anti-regional?

The conclusion of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 brought sweeping changes. They resulted in the northern regions of the Kingdom of Saxony (three counties – Zgorzelec, Lubań and Rozbork (Rothenburg)), historically a part of Upper Lusatia, being annexed by Prussia and incorporated into the Silesian province. Silesia, with an area of over 40,000 km^2, was one of ten provinces comprising the Prussian state. It was initially divided into four regencies (administrative, not judicial), then reduced to three in 1820, in which shape it remained until the end of the era. During that time efforts were made to liquidate enclaves and to provide counties with the simplest possible shapes. Świebodzin County and enclaves of the Duchy of Żagań were incorporated into New March (Brandenburg). Larger counties were also divided into smaller ones, accompanied by corrections of borders with neighbouring regions. Thus, the number of counties increased from 48 to 57. After these reforms the Wrocław regency contained 22 counties, the Legnica regency 19, and the Opole regency held 16. The area of the regencies followed the French administrative model, 13,600, 13,500 and 13,200 km^2 respectively[30].

In 1825, the administrative border of the province was again shifted further west by around 50 kilometres. This was a long and narrow strip of the Lusatia county of Hoyerswerda (Wojerecy), surrounded by Saxon and Brandenburg lands. The expansion of this province's territory was an artificial operation – the new regions previously had nothing in common with Silesia. In seeking to level out the northern border of the province it was shifted closer to the Odra river, incorporating fragments of Brandenburg. For pragmatic reasons it was assigned to Zielona Góra county.

[30] Roman Kamionka, *Die Reorganisation der Kreiseinteilung Schlesiens in der Stein-Hardenbergschen Reformperiode*, Breslau 1934.

Internal changes in later decades were less substantial. In the second half of the century the number of counties increased slightly as a result of the extensive concentration of industry and associated growth in urban populations. In 1855 the county of Nowa Ruda was formed, while in 1873 the division of the large Bytom county led to the formation of Katowice, Tarnowskie Góry and Zabrze counties. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, municipal counties included Wrocław, Legnica, Opole, Zgorzelec, Bytom, Królewska Huta, Katowice and Świdnica. The largest county was Opole (1,424 km^2), while the smallest was Królewska Huta (Chorzów) (6 km^2).

The post-congress territorial changes within the borders of Silesia took place in the context of reforms of the state undertaken by ministers Stein and Hardenberg. They brought a new model of state management which turned out to be quite durable. The office of minister of Silesia was eliminated in 1808. In 1816 an administrative reform was implemented. The primary territorial division of the country was the county (*Kreis*), which was part of a regency (*Regierungsbezirk*), which in turn constituted provisions. The system was uncomplicated and transparent. The reform was conceived on the one hand as a way of ensuring that state administration could function effectively, while on the other hand it was a means of enhancing the power of state authority over society. Each province was headed by an *Oberpräsident*, who was responsible for oversight of the entire provincial administration, but in fact exercised only nominal power. While this office enjoyed extensive authority and prestige as a result of the responsibility attached to the function, there was little freedom of action in the performance of duties[31]. The region continued to act as a functional entity, an intermediate level in state structures. In this sense we may speak of a regional model of management. At the same time, however, the aforementioned regencies, endowed with strong administrative competencies, were formed, thus constituting a significant barrier to further regional integration (the central authorities in Berlin remained in fear of historically rooted local chauvinisms)[32]. Police, education, treasury and military departments functioned at the regency level. Essentially, all territorial administration was in the hands of regency presidents (*Regierungspräsidenten*).

Four regencies were established in Silesia: Głogów (13 counties), Wrocław (14), Dzierżoniów (11) and Opole (14). In 1809 the capital of the Głogów regency was transferred to Legnica owing to the civil authorities' discomfort with the fortified

[31] Lysbeth Walker Muncy, *The Junker in the Prussian Administration Under William II, 1888–1914*, Rhode Island 1944, p. 161.

[32] J. Krasuski, *Kulturkampf*, p. 24.

nature of Głogów and French troops stationed inside. Ethnic and cultural distinctness led to the creation of a separate Opole regency, along with the calculation that doing so would make it easier to manage Upper Silesia while boosting the economic fortunes of that portion of the province. The tradition of historical individuality likely played a smaller role. The Dzierżoniów regency arose out of purely economic motivations, as the idea was to create a separate region of textile production. At the time, the textile industry was engulfed in a deep crisis. The authorities felt that the creation of a regency, albeit artificial, would contribute to economic invigoration[33]. Yet growth failed to return in the initial years following the change, and in 1820 the decision was taken to disband the Dzierżoniów regency as a means of reducing expenditures. Its territory was apportioned to the Wrocław and Legnica regencies.

From its inception the Opole regency included the Duchy of Nysa and some other regions historically belonging to Lower Silesia (Kluczbork, Byczyna). County of Kłodzko was incorporated into the Wrocław regency[34].

The regencies retained these borders essentially unchanged until the conclusion of the century. Regional integration was doubtlessly furthered by the stability of the territorial divisions.

Other attempts at regulating territorial divisions, coming on the back of state initiatives, most certainly contributed to regional integration. In 1821, the pope intervened in Church regulations by freeing the Bishopric of Wrocław from its dependence on the Polish ecclesiastical province in Gniezno, submitting it directly to the jurisdiction of the Roman Curia. The Bytom and Pszczyna deaneries were transferred from the Kraków to the Diocese of Wrocław, which had the effect of destroying their bonds with Polish clergy. At the same time, the borders of the diocese were expanded significantly further to the west, incorporating a large amount of non-Silesian Prussian lands.

The year 1821 also saw the adjustment of evangelical church administration to the borders of provinces. Here a different problem emerged. In 1817, the 300th anniversary of the Reformation, Friedrich Wilhelm III assumed supremacy over the Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed Churches, unifying their rituals. This integration was not met with support from the faithful, and instead of integration it led to splinter groups retaining the orthodox traditions of the old Lutheran and

[33] Tomasz Przerwa, *Rejencja dzierżoniowska – przypadek pewnej reformy administracyjnej*, [in:] *Śląsk w czasie i przestrzeni*, eds Joanna Nowosielska-Sobel, Grzegorz Strauchold, Wrocław 2009, p. 54.

[34] Arno Herzig, Małgorzata Ruchniewicz, *Dzieje Ziemi Kłodzkiej*, Hamburg–Wrocław 2008, pp. 227–228. Here on the internal transformations of the county in the 19th century.

Reformed communities. In Silesia, the majority of evangelical parishes were made part of the united Church[35]. The whole of Silesia was placed under the authority of one provincial consistory. The division into smaller territorial units roughly approximated the borders of regencies.

In 1809, the state was divided into six military cantons (for six brigades), including Lower Silesia and Upper Silesia. Essentially (with minor exceptions), this division matched the general administrative division (by 1814, compulsory military service, that lasted 19 years, was extended to all residents). At the same time, the state was carved up into eight corps divisions (broadly, one corps equalled one province), yet in this case as well some parts of provinces were separate in respect of military organization. In paying heed to pragmatic considerations, regions of linguistic diversity were fused together: the German-speaking Legnica regency was joined with the Polish-speaking Greater Poland, while the German-speaking Wrocław regency was joined with the Polish-speaking Opole regency. The clearly visible objective was integration at the state level, forming one nation, with lower-ranked administrative units treated in an instrumental manner.

Structural uniformity provided an impetus to integration, but also 'chafed' differences across various structures, as well as artificial territorial solutions. The region of Upper Lusatia, incorporated by way of an administrative decision into the province of Silesia, aspired to emphasize its distinctness. A so-called municipal *Landtag* was appointed as a separate legislative body, composed of members of the Silesian *Landtag*[36].

Below the level of regencies, a key position in the administrative system was occupied by the office of the *Landrat*. As the highest public official of the county, the *Landrat* was a representative of state authority, while at the same time it was an institution of local self-government owing to the fact of its being selected by the region's residents and the county assembly. Thus the historical dual identity of the office was retained, as the *Landrat* functioned not only as an arm of the state but also as a representative of the interests of the county in dealings with the state. Marek Czapliński, an authority in this area, once remarked that '(the *Landrat*) believed itself more often the former rather than the latter'[37]. Beginning in 1872, candidates

[35] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, pp. 21–22.

[36] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 141; Tomasz Kruszewski, *Sejm prowincjonalny na Śląsku (1824–1933)*, Wrocław 2000, pp. 40–41.

[37] Marek Czapliński, *Czy można mówić o dyskryminacji Silesia? Pruska polityka urzędnicza na Górnym Śląsku*, 'Studia Śląskie', 51 (1992), p. 33; L.W. Muncy, *The Junker*, pp. 182–184 underlines that the government tried to use *Landrats* to extend and consolidate its influence on the society on the district level, e.g. by supporting conservative candidates in elections.

to the office of *Landrat* were no longer required to come from the county. Gradually the practice took hold of appointing people advanced by the presidents of regencies[38]. This was in line with a broader trend of civil servants being shipped by Prussian central authorities from one end of the kingdom to the other, which was intended to prevent *Landrats* from identifying too closely with the interests of the residents in counties where they held office[39]. This tendency had revealed itself earlier. Research on the composition of civil servants in the Wrocław regency indicates a clear drop in the number of local residents holding the post of *Landrat* in the period 1847–1862[40]. The office of *Landrat* gradually ceased to be the exclusive domain of the nobility, yet at the same time it should be observed that in Silesia the participation of nobles was greater than in the regencies of western Prussia[41]. Catholics were also subjected to continual discrimination in respect of nominations to offices, as they were considered less loyal to the state. Upper Silesia distinguished itself in yet another aspect: initially it was attempted to appoint people with knowledge of Polish to the office. This practice was gradually abandoned.

The lowest rung on the territorial ladder of state administration was constituted by the commune, the head of which was an office of state administration. Oversight of communes was exercised by *Landrat's* and county departments. Communal assemblies were convened by the prefect (village judge), who was responsible for conducting sessions and managing the commune's property. The *Landrat* was responsible for confirming the appointment of the prefect. A unique entity was that of the *Gutsbezirke*, where authority over domestic and field servants was exercised by the owner of a given noble estate, serving as the lowest-ranking administrative officer. Although from 1808 communes possessed both their own representations and administrations, it was not until 1872 that the gentry was relieved of its

[38] M. Czapliński, *Czy można mówić*, p. 34.

[39] *Ibidem*, pp. 35–36. Patrick Wagner, *Bauern, Junker und Beamte. Lokale Herrschaft und Partizipation im Ostelbien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 2005, pp. 59–67: The author is of the opinion that *Landrats* defended the economic interests of the landed gentry, backing this thesis with the example of extremely frequent cases of underestimating land tax in the 1860s; J.R. Gillis, *Aristocracy*, p. 128 notices that throughout the entire 19th century, the election of *Landrats* was controlled by local gentry, where until ca. 1850 they would elect one of their own candidates, and later gradually began to place their trust in professional bureaucrats.

[40] P. Wagner, *Bauern*, p. 224.

[41] *Ibidem*, pp. 225 and 287. According to a not very recent study, the number of Junkers holding offices of *Landrats* was gradually decreasing (1888: ca. 29%, 1914: ca. 24%); at the same time, however, a comparison of the Eastern provinces with the entire territory of Prussia reveals that they were much more numerous in the East than in other regions of the monarchy (1888: 49%, 1914: 41%). The domination of nobility and the Junkers is even more visible in the composition of the provincial department in 1900: only 12 persons out of 29 were of middle class origin. See: L.W. Muncy, *The Junker*, pp. 188–189, 194.

police privileges and the inherited power of prefects. Municipal and rural police districts were then established, with the latter frequently encompassing several communes and manorial districts (*Amtsbezirke*) headed by district principals (*Amtsvorsteher*), honorary civil servants selected from among the residents of the district appointed by the *Oberpräsident* of the province upon recommendation by the county assembly[42]. The district principal performed his functions in conjunction with the residents' committee (*Amtsausschuss*), and his authority included police matters and execution of administrative instructions from the *Landrat*. A new Commune Law, which removed the remnants of the feudal system, was not adopted until 1891.

The administration promoted the aforementioned Prussian model as the best one possible. In 1830, an attempt was made on the pages of *Schlesische Provinzialblätter* to convince readers that Prussia was 'the source of the happiness and blossoming of Silesia, endowing it with religious freedom, political representation and a *Städteordnung*'[43]. Acceptance of such opinions was not necessarily reflected in the general social mood. As the intensity of social conflicts increased, dissatisfaction was trained on representatives of state authority. During the Napoleonic era, the abolishment of feudalism and land reforms led to intense protests by the peasantry. '*Landrats* and lords – the whip for all of them!' – this was the general opinion of the time, as bureaucrats were hostile towards the changes, going so far as to work together with the nobility to delay and even sabotage the introduction of new agrarian legislation[44]. Supported by the Prussian bureaucracy, Silesia saw the creation of county 'war contribution' committees, which slowly transformed into bastions of the nobility. These constituted what was essentially an anti-reform movement of the noble class, which advanced claims for damages to compensate for losses resulting from reforms imposed by the state.

Manumission and enfranchisement in Prussia was ultimately a very drawn-out process, under economic conditions that favoured the Junkers. Dissatisfied peasants engaged in strikes and other protests, with Silesia and other regions seeing bloody conflicts involving the army until the time of full enfranchisement in the mid-19th century. Nevertheless, neither the nobility nor the peasantry displayed a regional approach in their respective movements.

[42] K. Orzechowski, *Terytorialne podziały*, p. 11.

[43] Juliusz Demel, *Problematyka mieszczańska na łamach 'Schlesische Provinzialblätter' (1785–1830)*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 20 (1992), p. 79.

[44] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 48, 60–61.

***

The objective of the Stein-Hardenberg Reforms was to modernize the state. It would be difficult to locate among the changes then taking place in the Prussian state even the slightest element of what is contemporarily referred to as a regional policy. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that by eliminating some of Silesia's particularities in comparison to other provinces of the Prussian state, the decision was taken to construct a new administrative division on the basis of historical regions. Historical traditions were not always observed in drawing borders of provinces and internal divisions, with administrative pragmatism consistently getting the upper hand. Yet in spite of all the inconsistencies, the region played its role as an appropriate and forward-looking rung in the administrative ladder of the country without being an artificial bureaucratic construct[45]. In this sense, the state was instrumental in constituting Silesia as a separate region. Here we ought to give consideration to the issue of whether the emphasis on functionality of a provincial structure based on regionalism combined with limitations on the potential for regional separatism to blossom did not serve to create fertile ground for the development of sub-regional identity at the level of regencies. With all the differences between Lower and Upper Silesia, the explicit demarcation of an additional administrative border carving out the Opole regency (from the past and far larger Wrocław regency) undoubtedly strengthened the sense of distinctness in the eastern portion of the province.

The development of local government as a means of reinforcing regional bonds

The Napoleonic Wars transpired to be a seminal period in the development of local self-government. The *Städteordnung* of Stein on 19th November 1808 marked a restoration of the idea of municipal self-government, which had been essentially eliminated in practice by Friedrich II. The citizens of cities elected a city council, which in turn adopted a budget and appointed a magistrate, who served as the council's executive authority. It is worth emphasizing that the council selected the mayor from among many candidates coming from various regions of the Prussian state, and the primary criterion for selection was achievements in earlier positions (mayor or lower-level municipal bureaucrat). Cities were essentially entrusted with governing themselves, while being deprived of judicial authority. A uniform

[45] Kurt Jeserich, *Die preußischen Provinzen. Ein Beitrag zur Verwaltungs- und Verfassungsreform*, Berlin–Friedenau 1931.

court system was appointed for cities and villages (*Land- und Stadtgerichte*). The *Städteordnung* of 1853 applied a restrictive property census to restrict the rolls of eligible voters to a small percentage of residents. The *Landrat* and provincial *Oberpräsident* exercised oversight of municipalities, confirming resolutions. It was not until the end of the 19th century that review of municipal resolutions was limited to examining their legality. Cities were given income from land and industrial taxes. They could collect fees for the use of municipal property, and also received income from indirect taxes along with a municipal income tax component. Larger cities were separated from counties. The growth of self-government played an indisputable role in the development of civil society.

The *Städteordnung* facilitated the pursuit of a range of initiatives related to the organization of social welfare. Municipal governments appointed special commissions for care of the poor, and communes could impose taxes to fund social welfare objectives. Criteria were established for receiving aid and registers of recipients were maintained[46]. A closer interest was taken in educational matters, while the organization of schooling was made more uniform[47]. Professional, trade and industrial schools were founded, and professional development courses were conducted.

The 25th anniversary of the announcement of the *Städteordnung* turned into an occasion for state administration to organize tributes to the Prussian king as the giver of 'wise law', which enhanced the status of urbanites, awakened the spirit of civil society and brought order to finances. There were also more critical opinions, primarily pointing to the continued favouritism that was shown in spite of all else towards the landed aristocracy and nobility[48].

In 1825, the institution of provincial diet (*Provinziallandtag*) was founded as the seed that was to grow into the tree of regional political authority. To an extent, the diet ameliorated internal divisions within provinces. It should be kept in mind that real power was concentrated in the hands of state administration, and in the Prussian centralized system it was squarely in the hands of the king. The diet was based on an estate structure, with the first state composed of hereditary deputies and landed gentry, the second drew its members from towns and cities, and the third state drew on representatives of rural communes. Voting rights were the privilege of owners of landed property. Provincial diet's gave advisory opinions on matters concerning the province, and they addressed petitions and grievances to the king. Tomasz Kruszewski, an expert on the doings of the Silesian Diet in the Prussian

[46] J. Demel, *Problematyka*, p. 115.
[47] *Ibidem*, p. 118.
[48] *Ibidem*, pp. 138–139.

era, declared unequivocally that 'the introduction of the provincial *Landtag* was a device to provide the illusion of permitting subjects to participate in governing the province'. He even called the regional diet of the first decades of its existence 'a mock-up of a parliament'[49]. Deputies worked on drafts from the king modifying and codifying the law, and managed the province's assets. It was comprised primarily of social care institutions, and there was also discussion of fire insurance schemes, as well as management of land and water routes.

A short time thereafter, in 1827, county assemblies (*Kreistag*) were founded as a forum for landowners and representatives of cities. The assemblies presented candidates to the office of *Landrat*, and were then supposed to support the *Landrat* in the performance of his duties of office. The county department (headed by the *Landrat*) was the executive organ of the assembly, and it also performed the function of the administrative court of the first instance. The *Landrat* presented resolutions of the assembly to higher authorities. Members of the county assemblies served as deputies to the *Landrat* and 'served as an element binding local state administration with estate-based self-government'[50]. Some of the assembly's resolutions required the consent of the department; meanwhile, the *Landrat* could suspend resolutions of the assembly and department in the event they overstepped the boundaries of their authority.

While the powers of the provincial diet were heavily restricted and its composition determined by the regulations governing it, initially there was relatively extensive interest in its sessions. Indeed, it was the only political representation afforded to society. In later years this interest would recede, only to re-emerge with renewed strength in the 1840s when debates were followed closely in expectation of a reform of the state, and discussions published for the first time in the form of printed transcripts. Various groups used the diet as a forum for demanding liberalization of the political structure[51]. In Silesia, these demands included one for the establishment of an executive authority for the *Landtag*. The independence of civil servants in the judiciary was also demanded. From 1840, Wrocław was in essence a centre of political liberalism. Liberals achieved a significant breakthrough in 1845, when a resolution was passed to petition the king for the lifting of censorship. The request was even supported by *Oberpräsident* Friedrich Theodor Merckel, but was ultimately

[49] T. Kruszewski, *Sejm*, pp. 20 and 71.

[50] S. Śreniowski, *Historia*, p. 224.

[51] Jerzy Sydor, *Wiosna Ludów w powiatach górskich Dolnego Śląska*, Wrocław 1969, p. 44; T. Kruszewski, *Sejm*, pp. 61–62.

rejected by Friedrich Wilhelm IV, while for his efforts Merckel was dismissed from his post.

It was not until the unification of Germany that a breakthrough came in the development of Prussian self-governance. While draft legislation to introduce changes appeared in the 1850s, conservative rulers did not take the decision to make changes to anachronistic legal regulation for over twenty years afterwards.

First, in 1872 a new county charter was announced. The county assembly was to be composed of representatives of three groups: 1) owners of property and enterprises paying the highest taxes; 2) communal councils and owners not included in the first group; 3) magistrates and city councils. The assembly was chaired by the *Landrat*, who also convened it, yet in certain conditions was obliged to do so when demanded by the assembly itself. The assembly's powers included management of the county's assets, disposing of income from property, enterprises, special taxes and state subsidies, and also preparing an annual budget.

The assembly appointed the county department (*Kreisausschuss*) as its executive body, headed by a commissioner-*Landrat*. This served to enhance the powers of county commissioners, who became representatives not only of state authority, but also exercised power in the name of the self-government.

Next, in 1875 a new law on provincial self-government was enacted. A six-year term of office was adopted to the diet, selected by the communal assemblies (*Kreistag*) and city councils. Convened every two years, the diet passed resolutions addressing the budget and employment numbers of civil servants. In addition, the diet was equipped with an executive body in the form of the provincial department (*Provinzial-ausschuss*) headed by a state commissioner (*Landesdirektor* or *Landeshauptmann*), who represented local society and managed day-to-day affairs. The elections code for the diet was complicated. Division into four *curiae* ensured the aristocracy retained dominance. The diet was intended to advise on draft legislation, but in fact its powers were mainly focused on management of the province's assets. It also dealt with the distribution of taxes and government subsidies to counties[52]. The provincial department prepared the budget and submitted a report on its execution. The diet did not pass political resolutions. Owing to the diet's executive authority, it was not possible to speak of the same symbiosis of state and local governmental power that existed at the county level.

There was no local self-government at the regency level (the regional department was an advisory body and court of the second instance). Their presidents were deprived of some powers in favour of county commissioners, but they remained the

[52] T. Kruszewski, *Sejm*, p. 302.

chief territorial representative of state authority and served to neutralize separatist feelings at the provincial level[53].

During the 1870s and 1880s, the administrative court system was reorganized. A district department was created with the president of the regency at its head, two civil servants selected by the king and four delegates from the provincial department. This was the administrative court of the first instance, while provincial councils were the court of the second instance and were appointed in a similar manner.

***

Prussian self-government, whether territorial, economic or professional, was subjected to far-reaching oversight and management by central authorities. The local director of central government administration was always at the head of a self-government's executive body. This was particularly visible at the county level, where the chief of the executive authority of the local self-government was the *Landrat* (commissioner), who was also the director of local governmental administration, and at the regency level where there was no self-government body to speak of. A new law passed in 1875 undoubtedly strengthened territorial self-governance. The provincial diet was granted legal personhood, in turn leading to greater independence. Everything naturally took place within the context of the system of bureaucratic governments. The powers of the diet remained a derivative of the concept of a state in which self-government was hierarchically subordinate to state administration, and was intended to deal with matters of social assistance[54] and infrastructure maintenance (in respect of which larger investments were dependent on the engagement of capital from a centrally governed state). In times of need it was only possible to pressure government authorities to lend greater support to the expectations of Silesian society. There are examples of state administration meeting the needs and expectations of local society in respect of decisions related to infrastructure expenditures. In the 1870s, central authorities engaged in fiscal transfers from the western provinces to the east with a view to reducing differences in development. One German scholar has described this activity as a 'deliberate regional policy'[55]. There was investment made in transport infrastructure and various programmes to support the development of agriculture (e.g. land improvement). Administration played an important role in the design and construction of railway lines. Particularly in the 1870s and 1880s, as the rail system was gradually being

[53] J. Krasuski, *Kulturkampf*, p. 34.

[54] Tomasz Kruszewski, *Organizacja opieki społecznej w działalności samorządu prowincjonalnego na Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku*, Wrocław 2010.

[55] P. Wagner, *Bauern*, p. 391.

nationalized (and rail directorates were formed in Silesia), civil servants were engaged in the construction of secondary lines. County commissioners were at the head of rail construction committees, and county assemblies provided land and finances for that purpose. It is also worth emphasizing the activity of municipalities in bringing railway lines to particular cities[56].

In the second half of the 19th century, as Silesia saw the development of commercial organizations, it was expected that the issue of restoring the Odra river as a natural waterway to the north would receive attention and support from administrative authorities, particularly dredging of the river and constructing a network of water routes and ports[57]. Shoals, dams and mills were retarding the growth of river transport, which is why representatives of industrial organizations attempted to initiate a discussion on the subject within the framework of the provincial diet in 1841. The Wrocław municipality also seconded the demands. Petitions contained accusations of favouritism towards the western provinces on the part of central authorities[58]. Also of significance was the sceptical attitude of railway authorities towards the project, who perceived water transport as a serious competitor; industrialists from Upper and Lower Silesia also had conflicting views on the idea (the latter had no interest in regulation of the upper course of the river). All the parties, however, were interested in the construction of canals that would facilitate the movement of Silesian goods to western markets (although there may also have been fears of an influx of cheap goods from the outside). At the same time, efforts were made to influence authorities and stop them from undertaking investments detrimental to Silesian interests. These efforts went unrewarded for many years, not making an impact until the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Silesian delegates to the Prussian Parliament (*Landtag*) joined with the *Schlesischer Provinzialverein für Fluss- und Kanalschiffahrt* (Silesian Provincial Union for River and Canal Shipping). Their engagement led to a 1905 law that included postulates for expansion of the system of locks and canals along the course of the Odra. However, the gap between Silesia and other Prussian provinces over the long term is clearly visible, as is the mobilization of state administration only on the heels of pressure from Silesian industrialists[59].

[56] Przemysław Dominas, *Kolej w prowincjach poznańskiej i śląskiej. Mechanizmy powstawania i funkcjonowania do 1914 roku*, Łodź 2013, pp. 39–56, 130–149.

[57] Franciszek Biały, *Górnośląskie koła przemysłowo-handlowe wobec rządowych projektów rozbudowy dróg wodnych (1850–1914)*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 4 (1962), p. 233.

[58] A statement of expenses incurred on account of regulating the Odra and rivers in western Germany confirms these accusations: *ibidem*, pp. 235–236.

[59] *Ibidem*, p. 265.

Regular flooding posed a serious problem. Central authorities cooperated with local government in flood prevention efforts. In the late 19th century the primary means employed were regulation of rivers and construction of retention dams[60]. The flood of 1903 provided a strong impulse to engage in further work, as the destruction experienced by Wrocław inclined authorities to construct a new system of canals for securing the city[61]. These investments can undoubtedly be considered an integrational element uniting the entire province.

In summary, a clear division of powers and competencies can be observed: matters which concerned the state as a whole were the domain of centralized bodies, while local matters were decided by self-government bodies. The Prussian system of administration enjoyed the admiration of experts on the subject. Woodrow Wilson, professor of constitutional law and president of the United States of America from 1913, declared that the Prussian system 'in Germany demonstrates the highest form of development of territorial self-government. From the administrative perspective, Prussia could be considered the most perfect state in Europe'[62].

As local government grew, so did the potential for conflict with state administration. However, as the previously cited Michaelis stated, 'the rivalization to maintain balance between rights, duties and spheres of interest between the state and the province was a constant and effective motor for the civilizational development of the province'[63]. In his opinion, Silesia distinguished itself from the remaining Prussian provinces by the number of parliamentarians of outstanding background, fortune and achievements. He viewed the independence of self-government from political parties as one of its most positive aspects. Silesian integration was ultimately furthered by centralized efforts to ensure its cohesion as a functional region. Local self-government bodies created by the will of state institutions and shaped to no small degree by them were an important compliment to those state institutions' own activities. The development of self-government in Prussia did not lead to the growth of particularism, but rather to regional integration based on the performance of social and infrastructural tasks. It was thus a derivative of general economic and social development, resulting from the gradual expansion of the state's increasingly complex and muddled powers which necessitated bolstering of the provincial level of administration, limited, however, to the expansion of judicial procedures enabling close control over decisions taken at the local level.

[60] G. Michaelis, *Für Staat*, p. 190.
[61] *Ibidem*, pp. 202–207.
[62] Woodrow Wilson, *Ustrój państwowy Niemiec i Prus*, Warszawa 1917, p. 36.
[63] *Ibidem*, p. 234.

Political awakening of society – a step towards regionalization?

Administration in the 19th century was faced with the activities of a society seeking the largest possible share of power. Resistance to state institutions, while viewed by those governing as destructive to the existing order and stability, did contribute (keeping in mind the assorted political aims of particular social groups) to integration of the region's residents.

The next large political awakening in Silesia following the Napoleonic era came with the Spring of Nations. Social ferment had erupted earlier and manifested itself with the 1844 weavers' revolt in the Sudeten Foothills[64]. In general, the administration reacted with hostility to new political movements. The radical Wilhelm Wolff had significant difficulties with censorship in Prussian Silesia, which led him to begin publishing in western Germany[65]. Officials were convinced that it was not poverty, but rather the incitements of radicals that was the cause of social discontent, which is why they were fought with great energy. The significance of opposition groups was frequently exaggerated. Wolff was considered to be the 'intellectual instigator' of the weavers' revolt[66]. Two years later, following another article critical of the authorities published in *Schlesische Chronik*, Wolff was forced to emigrate[67]. In spite of heavy censorship, the social role of the press continued to grow. New publications appeared and newspaper circulation increased. The most popular were two Wrocław-based newspapers, the pro-government *Breslauer Zeitung* and the liberal *Schlesische Zeitung*; provincial press also expanded.

Wrocław developed into the centre of opposition in the region. Revolutionary incidents in Wrocław which took place in 1848 preceded events in Berlin, as the first demonstrations took place as early as 6th March[68]. The local municipal government sought to represent all Silesian cities. Central administration attempted to undermine the role of Wrocław, playing on local ambitions to gain the upper hand. For example, Jelenia Góra ultimately failed to join Wrocław's petition to refrain from

[64] For the latest study on the weavers' revolt, see: Christina von Hodenberg, *Aufstand der Weber. Die Revolte von 1844 und ihr Aufstieg zum Mythos*, Bonn 1997.

[65] On Wolff's journalistic activity as the germ of the democratic and social-communist movement in Silesia, see: Walter Schmidt, *Działalność polityczna Wilhelma Wolffa na Śląsku do roku 1946*, 'Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska', 5 (1963), pp. 347–403. Amended version: *idem*, *Wilhelm Wolff im vormärzlichen Schlesien*, [in:] Helmut Bleiber, Walter Schmidt, *Schlesien auf dem Weg in die bürgerliche Gesellschaft. Bewegungen und Protagonisten der schlesischen Demokratie im Umfeld von 1848*, vol. 2: *Protagonisten der schlesischen Demokratiebewegung*, Berlin 2012, pp. 115–160.

[66] Wilhelm Wolff, *Wybór pism o Śląsku*, ed. Wacław Długoborski, Warszawa 1954, pp. 58–59.

[67] *Ibidem*, p. 77.

[68] Marian Tyrowicz, *Udział Śląska w ruchu rewolucyjnym 1846–1849*, Warszawa 1949, pp. 96–98.

convening parliament and to call new elections to the Prussian assembly based on a new election law, but instead supported only the second postulate while sending its parliamentary representative to Berlin[69]. Another dissenting position was adopted by Kłodzko and other Silesian cities when Wrocław's demands were held to be overly radical. In the end, Wrocław's deputies finally made their way to Berlin for the session. City authorities were clearly terrified by unrest in the countryside and were very susceptible to pressure from the central authorities. Initially protecting the placement of military divisions in cities, by April 1848 local self-government authorities had ceased to object. In the meantime, residents themselves organized a citizens' guard tasked with maintaining peace and lawful order.

In Wrocław itself, political life blossomed with full force. Formations appeared such as the Democratic Union, the centrist People's Union and the moderate Fatherland Union and Central Silesian Constitutional Union. These organizations harboured ambitions of exerting influence over all of Silesia. Congresses of delegates were convened in Wrocław with the objective of determining political goals and strategies for the future. Rallies and protests became the primary mode of expression. Propaganda was printed and distributed in the countryside. This did not all go over smoothly, as the countryside felt that Wrocław, attempting to assert its influence over the entire province, was too radical; at the same time, it had an inferiority complex in respect of the province's capital and would have preferred to demonstrate self-sufficiency and independence in action[70]. Elections to the Prussian National Assembly and to the Frankfurt Parliament (*Frankfurter Nationalversammlung*), conducted in May 1848, turned out to be a massive event. They were the first true elections in the history of Silesia. Nonetheless, by the end of May public administration had thrown its support to a campaign collecting signatures under declarations of support for the king and the monarchy and against democrats. One product of the revolution was the rise of the Silesian Peasant Society, which demanded the end of feudal dues and a final solution to the agrarian question. In September, the Society held a peasant congress in Wrocław, which turned out to be a milestone in the organization's development. A month later the membership rolls had grown to 200,000. In response to the suspension of the National Assembly in Berlin, the radicals adopted a tax boycott as their leading slogan. The influence of democrats, encompassing not only cities but also rural areas, was greater in Silesia than in other provinces. One example of this can be seen in the results of elections to the Prussian parliament, where 40 out of 58 Silesian deputies were democrats. In addition, as many as 29

[69] J. Sydor, *Wiosna Ludów*, pp. 120–121.

[70] *Ibidem*, pp. 139–140.

of the 45 peasant deputies came from Silesia. This is why scholars of the Spring of Nations and its impact on Silesia draw attention to these features that make it unique[71].

At the end of January 1850, Friedrich Wilhelm IV published a constitution. Prussia became a modernized constitutional monarchy with a parliament whose role was limited by the broad powers of the ruler. While elections to the Chamber of Deputies were universal, they were also based on a system of *curiae* – voters were divided into three groups on the basis of a property census. The Prussian constitution of 1850 declared that a special law on associations would be prepared. The regulation enacted several weeks later contained significant curbs on the freedom to establish associations. Public administration was granted quite broad powers. A similar situation unfolded regarding preventative censorship, which was lifted in 1848, but repressive censorship was exercised by the police, prosecutorial service and criminal courts. In effect, all printed materials were examined, particularly journals, and efforts were made to halt the resurgence of publishing that had been ongoing since the Spring of Nations[72]. The *Landrat's* were employed to promote selected press titles[73].

The issue of enfranchisement was finally settled in 1850. The advance of democratic freedoms, however, could not be stopped. Later elections were conducted under overt administrative pressure. Civil servants comprised a portion of the election administration apparatus. This led to abuses perpetrated by bureaucrats, whose support was often decisive in boosting or reducing the number of seats won by particular groups depending on whether they were part of the governing coalition or in opposition to it[74]. Indeed, a large group of civil servants themselves were elected to the Prussian parliament. The Prussian parliament of 1855–1858 was even referred to as the *Landrat* parliament, as its ranks contained 120 civil servants, of which 72 held the office of *Landrat*. Voters were classified based on a property census. The electors, mainly representatives of the richest portion of the populace, nominated deputies to the Prussian parliament in open voice votes

[71] Walter Schmidt, *Schlesische Demokratie von 1848/49. Geschichte und Akteure*, vol. 1: *Geschichte der schlesischen Demokratiebewegung*, Berlin 2012, pp. 9–18, 339–346.

[72] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, pp. 361–362. For example, in 1848 Oberpräsident Merckel refused to grant his permission for the publication of rev. Józef Szafranek's new magazine.

[73] This was the case of, e.g., the ultra-conservative *Die konservative Zeitung für Schlesien*, which rejected constitutional order and at the same time supported the government in all its actions. See: *Historia Śląska*, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 247–248.

[74] Hans Fenske, *Der Landrat als Wahlmacher. Eine Fallstudie zu den Reichstagswahlen von 1881*, 'Die Verwaltung', 4 (1979), pp. 433–546.

until as late as 1918. The local higher class of civil servants was recruited primarily from outside Silesia. From 1869 only four *Oberpräsidents* came from the province.

During the period of 1849 to 1858, conservatives of various shades had the clear upper hand. Later on, other political parties made their voices heard in opposition to the government: liberals and the Catholic Centre Party. Liberal groups (Progress Party and National-Liberal Party) were dominant on the Silesian political scene in the first half of the 1860s, after which they were supplanted by conservatives[75]. In 1871, the formation of a united Germany was announced, followed by the proclamation of the constitution of the Second Reich, which made Prussia a part of the federation. In spite of Prussian dominance, the federated countries were afforded a large degree of freedom. Their mutual ties were to be strengthened while internal differences were respected. Germany entered a period of accelerated economic growth. Mass political movements grew and political parties were formed. During this period liberals were again in the ascension, while ceding the playing field to the conservatives by the end of the 1870s.

After 1882, political influence in Silesia was divided between conservatives (the German Conservative Party/*Die Deutschkonservative Partei* and the Free-Conservative Party/*Die Freikonservative Partei*) and centrists. The former were dominant in rural and evangelical districts (the Legnica regency and part of Wrocław), while the latter were stronger in agricultural and industrial regions with a primarily Catholic population (the Opole regency and part of Wrocław). In 1882–1913, each of these factions sent at least one-third of all deputies from Silesia to the parliament. Lesser influence was exerted by the Free-Thinking People's Party and the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which was delegalized for a period of several years. The political struggle intensified in the run-up to every election, but it is worth drawing attention to the particular phenomenon of competition gradually dying out in many districts. In 1913, 16 out of 32 districts saw no counter-candidates put up for election by any party at all. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the electoral battle was joined by the social democrats and the emerging Polish national movement[76]. Public administration fought against both these groups, perceiving in them a threat to the stability of the state and region. Each of these groups also placed significant stock in boosting their visibility in Silesia. Poles were concerned with protecting their own distinctness. The social democrats

[75] See: *Historia Śląska*, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 266–267.

[76] Jerzy Pabisz, *Wyniki wyborów do Parlamentu Związku Północnoniemieckiego i Parlamentu Rzeszy Niemieckiej na terenie Śląska w latach 1867-1918*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 7 (1966), pp. 17–23.

worked at gradually increasing their influence, and in the latter half of the 1870s the provincial capital had become a strong political centre for them. It is worth recalling that the first German socialist group was established by Ferdinand Lassalle, of Wrocław. The 1895 national congress of the GSDP in Wrocław was an expression of the party's growing strength. Just prior to the outbreak of World War I the social democrats enjoyed their broadest popular support.

From the close of the 1860s, electoral districts and the number of deputies elected from them remained fixed. Industrialization and urbanization and the accompanying increases in population density, particularly in Upper Silesia, did not lead to any changes in that respect[77].

***

Government offices were occupied by representatives of landowning and industrial families. Such origins were naturally coupled with conservative attitudes. It should thus come as no surprise that public administration was attentive to the interests of those in power, while fighting against political movements that sought social transformations. To a certain extent they influenced the results of parliamentary elections. Political disputes grew in direct proportion to growing social and economic tensions. This indisputably contributed to de-integration of Silesians in local communities. The expanding cracks were most visible in Upper Silesia and the rest of the province, doubtlessly reinforced through the strong position of the regency as an element in the administrative structure. Religious and linguistic matters began to assume an increasingly political significance.

The disintegrating role of state religious and linguistic policy

It should be recalled that from Friedrich's times, preference was given to Protestants in filling civil service posts[78]. It is thus natural that the first Catholic *Oberpräsident* of Silesia was Prince Hermann von Hatzfeldt-Trachenberg, (who was also one of few Silesians appointed to the office), appointed in 1894 (it should also be mentioned that he was a member of the Free-Conservative Party, which was a fervent supporter of the *Kulturkampf* policy)[79]. This discriminatory tendency was

[77] *Ibidem*, p. 187.

[78] In the 1870s, out of 23 national councillors in the Wrocław regency, as many as 19 were Protestants; in the Opole regency – 18 out of 21. See: Tomasz Błaszczyk, *Zakony na Śląsku w dobie Kulturkampfu*, Wrocław 2004 (=Papieski Wydział Teologiczny we Wrocławiu, Rozprawy Naukowe, No. 54), p. 135.

[79] *Verwaltungsgeschichte Ostdeutschlands*, p. 883.

also present in other Prussian provinces with large Catholic populations[80]. However, Prussia was at the same time a place of religious tolerance. Fr. Jerzy Myszor, an expert on the history of the Catholic Church in Silesia, emphasizes that in the first half of the 19th century the province was held up as an example of the harmonious coexistence of Catholics and Evangelicals. Catholics participated in the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the Church of Peace in Świdnica, the 100th anniversary of the Evangelical church in Żagań, and of the 300th anniversary of the Reformation. The Bytom *Landrat* wrote in his reports of a 'deep religious peace' between Catholics, Protestants and Jews, which is not to say that there was no conflict whatsoever (unequal distribution of state subsidies and links between the Evangelical Church and state institutions were sources of disquiet). Harsh polemics and attacks were printed in the press during the Spring of Nations, and then again during the era of *Kulturkampf*. State policy led to the general atmosphere becoming increasingly confrontational[81]. The Wrocław-based Catholic daily *Schlesisches Kirchenblatt*, led from 1852 by new editor Franz Lorinser, who was also a consistory councillor in the municipal curia and the provost of the parish of St. Matthias, evolved into a heavily politicized newspaper. The most frequently addressed issue was that of equal rights for Catholics and Protestants, which the authorities took as an expression of anti-state sentiment[82]. In 1850, a bone of contention emerged between the Catholic Church and the Prussian government in the form of the requirement to submit an oath on the constitution, which itself assured freedom of conscience. Refusal in this matter led to open conflict in Silesia. The president of the Opole regency demanded the resignation of Fr. Bernhard Bogedain from his position in school council, which served only to complicate the situation further. The authorities were clearly striving to establish their superiority over the Church hierarchy. The king ultimately modified the wording of the oath and a compromise was reached, but it failed to neutralize the source of the conflict. The resistance of the Catholic hierarchy, including the bishop of Wrocław, Melchior Diepenbrock, blocked the path to making the Church dependent on the state[83]. In 1852, when greater numbers of Jesuits made their way to Silesia, central authorities issued

[80] G. Kucharczyk, *Kulturkampf*, p. 236; Martin Baumeister, *Parität und katholische Inferiorität*, Paderborn 1987, p. 22.

[81] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, pp. 36-–37.

[82] The prosecution was pressing charges for slandering Evangelical clergy. Lorinser was repeatedly put on trial *ex officio* for defamation and penalized with fines for 'inciting citizens to hatred and contempt'. The chief of Police was sending letters of reminder to the editor's office for failing to mention the King's birthday in the newspaper. See: Mieczysław Pater, *Katolicki ruch polityczny na Śląsku w latach 1848–1871*, Wrocław 1967, pp. 87–89.

[83] *Ibidem*, pp. 107–117.

an order on oversight of their homilies and activities. It should be emphasized that the provincial authorities, including the president of the Wrocław regency, did not perceive any threat in the Jesuits' missionary activity and assessed it favourably. However, authorities of the Evangelical Lutheran Church did protest, seeing the Jesuits as tools of Catholic propaganda. The pressure they exerted led to official measures being openly taken against missions. This turned a dispute between churches into one between Catholics and state authorities[84]. At the same time, Catholics were supported by other groups who saw the activities of the administration as an attempt to restrict freedoms, and thus an attack on the constitution itself. As the historian Mieczysław Pater observed, 'Catholics in Silesia never intended to become active enemies of Prussia, but they deeply desired for Prussia to cease being a Protestant state'[85]. Catholics sought not only constitutional equality of faiths, but also real equality with Protestants in all aspects of political and social life[86].

The authorities attempted to smash the unity of the Catholic movement. Old Catholic movements were propagated that opposed the dogma of papal infallibility. Support was also lent to so-called statist Catholics, who were led by two Silesian landowners: Count Fred von Frankenberg and the Prince of Racibórz Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst. Their movement, rooted to an extent in the so-called Germany Catholicism (*Deutschkatholizismus*) that was broken up during the Spring of Nations, grew out of fears of an anti-state 'threat' coming from the Polish community in Silesia[87]. This helped it to find common ground for cooperation with conservatives.

Catholic faith assumed a political dimension. From 1848, a visible 'political Catholicism' was present in public life[88]. Catholic parliamentarians banded together and after the 1871 elections formed the Centre faction in the parliament of the Reich. The new party strove to defend conservative values, decentralize administration and ameliorate the social problems associated with the development of capitalism[89]. In the period 1875–1890, Centre transformed into a party of Catholic agrarians and landowners. Leading representatives of the party included such Silesian landowners and industrialists as Count Franz von Ballestrem and Baron Karl

[84] *Ibidem*, pp. 121–127. The Jesuits left the German Reich in the 1860s. In Silesia, their facilities in Świdnica, Nysa and Ruda Śląska were dissolved, such as the Franciscan monastery on St. Anne Mountain (Góra Św. Anny). For more information, see: T. Błaszczyk, *Zakony*.

[85] M. Pater, *Katolicki ruch*, p. 132.

[86] Józef Mandziuk, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku, Czasy nowożytne*, vol. 3, part 2 (1845–1887), Warszawa 2008, p. 25.

[87] J. Krasuski, *Kulturkampf*, p. 165.

[88] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 363.

[89] J. Krasuski, *Kulturkampf*, p. 110.

von Huene-Hoiningen. Centre also assumed the mantle of champion of linguistic freedom for the Polish population. The party protested against confiscation of printed publications and fines imposed on editors for minor offences[90]. Centre and Polish clergy protesting restrictions imposed by authorities seeking to suppress the Polish language, including in the religious sphere, found common ground. Some of them entered the Reichstag, where 13 of the 18 deputized priests came from Silesia[91]. Administration of the Catholic Church had a different approach than state administration to the issue of a multi-linguistic populace. In the event a given diocesan did not know Polish, suffragists were appointed from regions where Polish was dominant, and therefore familiar to them[92]. Discrimination against the Polish language was opposed, but there was no resistance to assimilation. German Catholics were by definition unopposed to Germanization. However, they did believe German culture was attractive enough that engaging schools and the Church in Germanization efforts was unnecessary. A characteristic example is that of the previously mentioned Fr. Bogedain, from 1858 the auxiliary bishop of Wrocław, who recommended that lectures in school be delivered in Polish out of his faith in the magnetism of German culture[93].

The beginnings of *Kulturkampf*, when the so-called May laws of 1873 came into effect guaranteeing the state oversight of education in seminaries and influence over appointments to ecclesiastical posts (including the power to remove priests), led to confrontation[94]. In Silesia, bishop of Wrocław Heinrich Förster emerged as the leader of a resistance movement. To avoid arrest he fled to the Austrian Silesia, and was relieved of his office by Prussian authorities. The *Kulturkampf* was equally dramatic for the Kłodzko region. While it belonged to the Archbishopric of Prague, it was forced to submit to the laws of the Prussian state. The Archbishop had trouble securing his access to the county. A number of priests were chased out, Catholic

[90] In the 1860s, Chancellor Bismarck put forward an act that stipulated penalties for press attacks on the structure of the family, property, social order, conscription, etc. In the Reichstag, the draft was amended, with the authorities retaining the right of confiscation in particular cases, such as *lèse-majesté*, inciting to treason and dissemination of pornography. In 1874, press offences were subjected to ordinary penal law. See: J. Krasuski, *Kulturkampf*, p. 33; J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 366.

[91] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, pp. 367–369. On the relationship between the Polish national movement and the Catholic Centre Party, see also: Karl Bachem, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der Deutschen Zentrumspartei*, vol. 3, Köln 1927, pp. 148, 190.

[92] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 152.

[93] M. Pater, *Katolicki ruch*, p. 83; J. Krasuski, *Kulturkampf*, p. 227.

[94] On *Kulturkampf* in Silesia, see: T. Błaszczyk, *Zakony*; J. Mandziuk, *Historia*, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 437–572; Christian Andree, *Der Kulturkampf in Schlesien*, 'Archiv für schlesischen Kirchengeschichte', 53 (1995),pp. 151–168; Paul Mai, *Die Folgen des 'Kulturkampfes' für die schlesische Kirche*, 'Archiv für schlesischen Kirchengeschichte', 59 (2001), pp. 229–243.

organizations were disbanded, and printed materials critical of official policy were confiscated. The local population rallied around the clergy, with the dean of the county Fr. Franz Brand at their head. The events of the 1870s doubtlessly contributed to the integration of Catholic residents living in that portion of the Silesian province. As in the case of Upper Silesia, confessionalization of political views proceeded, leading to the domination of the Centre party. The social democrats were able to achieve significant gains in the heavily industrialized Nowa Ruda district[95].

The course of *Kulturkampf* also involved the administration attempting to suppress Polishness in Upper Silesia, which was an expression of the effort to construct a nationally and linguistically uniform German state. Indeed, the drive for linguistic unification of Silesia began during the Friedrich II era. In 1744 the first decrees were issued eliminating bilingual courts and establishing German as the sole official language. In 1754, a ban was issued on schools hiring teachers who did not know German. In the 1760s, further edicts were handed down forcing Polish out of public life: lessons in German were made compulsory in all primary schools and teachers who did not understand German were sacked. The administration was clearly trying to speed up the process of Germanization. By 1810, the teaching of Polish in schools was forbidden. Benda, a school councillor from the Opole regency, made no secret of the authorities' intentions towards the Polish-speaking population of Upper Silesia in his pamphlet titled *Betrachtung Oberschelsiens*: 'The only path to integration of the Upper Silesian people and to eliminate backwardness is Germanization'[96]. The 1827 statement of Silesian *Oberpräsident* Merckel is well known, in which he said that every language other than German amounted to disloyalty and resistance against authority[97]. A similar policy was pursued against the Sorbian and Czech populations. German language and culture was imparted through military service, employment in new branches of expanding industry, changes in the organization of the court system and the development of schooling. Polish worship in Evangelical churches was eliminated in spite of the dissatisfaction this caused among the faithful. In the Opole regency, established in 1816, all official decrees were published in two languages: Polish and German. From 1838 they were published exclusively in German. As late as 1860 a recommendation remained in place that civil

[95] A. Herzig, M. Ruchniewicz, *Dzieje*, pp. 242–246. See also: Helmuth Neubach, *Perteien und Politiker in der Grafschaft Glatz 1867–1918*, [in:] *Glaciographia Nova. Festschrift für Dieter Pohl*, ed. Arno Herzig, Hamburg 2004, pp. 232–249.

[96] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 405.

[97] Marek Czapliński, *Der Oberschlesier – Staatsbürger oder Untertan? Zur preußischen Politik der Jahre 1807–1914*, [in:] *Nationale Minderheiten Und staatliche Minderheitenpolitik in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert*, eds Hans Henning Hahn, Peter Kunze, Berlin 1999, p. 82.

servants with knowledge of Polish be appointed, so that they would better understand their subjects[98]. Yet beginning in the 1860s, the Prussian authorities began to restrict the use of Polish in schools. In 1863, an edict was issued in the Opole regency making German the language of instruction from the second year of school. In 1872, Polish was entirely eliminated from schools. Some bureaucrats suggested conducting agitation among the Polish population by way of a journal published in Polish, but with a pro-Prussian accent. The *Landrats* of the Opole regency were in disagreement as to the effectiveness of such a campaign, and it was ultimately rejected[99]. The idea was revisited twenty years later when the anti-Polish *Truth* and *The Silesian* were published. At the same time, the Polish press was subjected to continual harassment. Editors were hauled into court on the pretext of offending Prussian authorities and civil servants. During the *Kulturkampf* the editorial staff of *The Catholic* had to be constantly on their guard to avoid being punished. In spite of their efforts, the editor-in-chief of *The Catholic*, Karol Miarka, was tried and convicted 16 times during his thirteen years of work at the paper[100]. In short, the language question became a part of political life. It was against this backdrop that the role and significance of the Catholic Centre Party gradually grew (the Opole regency was even referred to as 'Centre country'). It was forbidden to use Polish in workplaces, public offices, schools and even preschools. Bureaucrats harassed *The Catholic* primarily due to its links with Catholic Centre Party, which itself was persecuted until an understanding was reached between German authorities and Pope Leo XIII at the end of the 1870s. As the Prussian government withdrew from its policy of *Kulturkampf*, the Catholic Church began to gradually lend its support to anti-Polish measures taken by the state. In 1890, bishop of Wrocław Georg von Kopp, who had previously worked to accommodate an understanding between Berlin and Rome, published two Germanizing circulars: to use German in classes preparing the faithful for confession, and to use German in homilies and during parish announcements even in locations where it was not necessary to do so. When this occurred in the mid-1880s, Centre shifted its support to the government. Party functionaries were rewarded with prestigious public posts[101]. Polish organizations were

[98] *Ibidem*, p. 83.

[99] See: *Historia Śląska*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 280.

[100] Joachim Glensk, *Czarna księga prasy śląskiej,* vol. 1: *Górny Śląsk*, Opole 2006, provides numerous examples of how the Prussian authorities harassed editors of Polish magazines.

[101] Franz von Ballestrem became the Speaker of the Reichstag. For information on the circumstances surrounding the break up between the Polish national movement and the Catholic Centre Party, see Karl Bachem, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte Und Politik der Deutschen Zentrumspartei*, vol. 4, Köln 1928, pp. 296–298.

persecuted, with their activities hindered under legal pretexts. The mere cultivation of Polishness could not be invoked as grounds for engaging in some form of activity. The opposite was in fact true: it was grounds for multiplying restrictions and enhancing repression designed to paralyze publishing activities. In later years, the methods used to harass the Polish press were continued and extended. The editor of *Raciborskie News* (*Nowiny Raciborskie*), Jan Karol Maćkowski, was subjected to 15 trials in three years, paid multiple fines and sat in prison for 8 months. The editors of other publications dealt with the same problems in spite of being at pains to stress their loyalty to the Prussian state while promoting Polish language and culture[102]. It was remarked that the attitude of Poles towards Prussia depended on the attitude of the state towards Poles[103]. Nevertheless, the activity of Polish agitators was perceived to be directed against the state, and the Polish community was discriminated against. German schooling propagated the view that Polishness was synonymous with poverty, backwardness and social exclusion[104]. Efforts at Germanization were reinforced by transferring teachers and civil servants unfamiliar with the Polish language from the interior of Germany. They were awarded special bonuses to their salaries.

The Germanization campaign dovetailed with the recommendation of Chancellor Bismarck issued in 1871 that Poles without German citizenship should be forcibly resettled if they engaged in political activity[105]. In the mid-1880s, Upper Silesia was hit with a wave of expulsions of Polish workers who had arrived from Russian and Austrian-controlled lands, and did not possess Prussian citizenship. Around 5,700 people were resettled, which, in the context of the total population, was not a large number. The demographic structure of Silesia was not altered[106]. Local administration felt that the demands of the labour market were not a sufficient justification for the migration of Poles from other occupied territories. The president of the Opole regency opposed employment of that population. The benefits to employees resulting from lower wages were insufficient to balance out the political dangers arising out of Polish workers' presence in Silesia[107]. The 1885 restrictions resulted from

[102] See: *Historia Śląska*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 284; J. Glensk, *Czarna księga*, pp. 101–131.

[103] M. Pater, *Katolicki ruch*; Marek Czapliński, *Adam Napieralski 1861–1928. Biografia polityczna*, Wrocław 1974, pp. 14–15.

[104] Mieczysław Pater, *Ruch polski na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1879-1893*, Wrocław 1969.

[105] Andrzej Brożek, *Wysiedlenia Polaków z Górnego Śląska przez Bismarcka (1885–1887)*, Katowice 1963, p. 25.

[106] *Ibidem*, pp. 62–63.

[107] Management boards of Upper Silesian mines also drew regency officials' attention to the demoralization of local workers due to lack of competition on the labour market. A. Brożek, *Wysiedlenia*, pp. 67, 107.

the conviction of Prussian officials at all levels that workers from Galicia and the Congress Kingdom of Poland would exert a Polonizing effect, and that the cheaper labour would contribute to further migrations of workers from Silesia to the west. Meanwhile, the *Ostflucht* continued unabated, while national proportions remained unchanged[108]. According to the census of 1890, in the Opole regency 974,000 out of 1,5 million residents claimed knowledge of Polish or Moravian[109]. In spite of the ineffectiveness of administrative measures, a new expulsion of Poles who did not possess Prussian citizenship was ordered in 1895–1897. In 1904 an exceptional law was passed that served as grounds for refusing to issue a building permit for a house in lands inhabited by Poles. In 1908 the so-called 'muzzle law' was passed, which banned gatherings in languages other than German in regions where the percentage of non-Germans did not reach a given level. In the Opole regency, efforts in the struggle of the administration with Polish cooperatives and banking were doubled as state and local governmental institutions were ordered to refrain from all contact with them. In the view of the Prussian authorities, Polish public activity was of a political nature and was punishable *per se*. Lists of banned Polish books were announced with regularity. Even Polish choral societies were persecuted[110].

The pressure of Germanization was resisted by the Polish intelligentsia, particularly at the beginning of the 20th century. Wojciech Korfanty listed all the sins of Germans on the pages of *Labour*, writing that 'they are tightening the screws of the law, disbanding societies and gatherings, blocking the path to education, and they rush to an ignoble joy, defining love and defense of the homeland as incitement to violations. Civil servants brutally mock deeply-held feelings, the clergy slavishly seek acceptance through self-germanization, and the philosophers have created 'ausrotten''. According to Korfanty, the actions of the German administration led to hatred on the part of Poles towards Germans, who attacked and Germanized them[111]. The authorities could always forbid the publishing of a given journal. In 1902, Korfanty was hauled into court for articles published in *The Upper Silesian* that attacked Germanization policy. The powers that be viewed this agitation as an attack on the state. At the regional level, a clear fractioning into Upper and Lower Silesia could be perceived, with the former home to both Polish and German populations, while the latter was purely German. German authorities were probably truly convinced in the truth of the words of Michaelis that 'In terms of language and

[108] *Ibidem*, pp. 119–123.
[109] M. Czapliński, *Der Oberschlesier*, p. 88.
[110] See: *Historia Śląska*, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 287, 291.
[111] M. Orzechowski, *Wojciech Korfanty*, pp. 46–47.

habits, the Poles living in Upper Silesia were not truly Polish'[112]. Their language was dismissively referred to as *wasserpolnisch*, and their declarations of Polishness were linked mainly with the activities of emissaries from Greater Poland. Michaelis viewed it as 'good law and in the national interest' to actively combat all forms of activity hostile to the state: 'monitor trade unions and associations, expel people who pose a danger to the state, control the press and ensure that state power is properly respected'[113]. In his view, the weakness of the policy lay merely in the inconsistency with which it was applied. That said, he did feel the policy of forced Germanization aiming at creating monolingual German citizens from bilingual Poles was a mistake.

***

It should be pointed out that the Germanizing and anti-Catholic activities of public administration (itself a bastion of conservatism) generated deep divisions and conflicts among the residents of Silesia. This attitude doubtlessly contributed to social polarization. The province's citizens were faced with choices of nationality and religion. The majority of Lower Silesians felt themselves to be German. The situation in Upper Silesia was more complex. A passive attitude was the one most frequently adopted, and negative experiences were the decisive factors driving choices. Discrimination and anti-Catholic oppression, as well as the work of Polish nationalist campaigners, pushed Silesians towards embracing Polishness. The divide between Upper Silesia and the rest of the region deepened.

Summary

After conquering Silesia, Friedrich II introduced centralized power and governance structures patterned on those of Prussia, but without unifying administrative systems (for example, customs borders were maintained). The situation remained thus until 1806. Silesians were deprived of the chance to engage politically. They held offices of little significance to the state as a whole, but they were permitted to dominate at the lower local level. The primary aim of administrative activities was the effective exploitation of the new province.

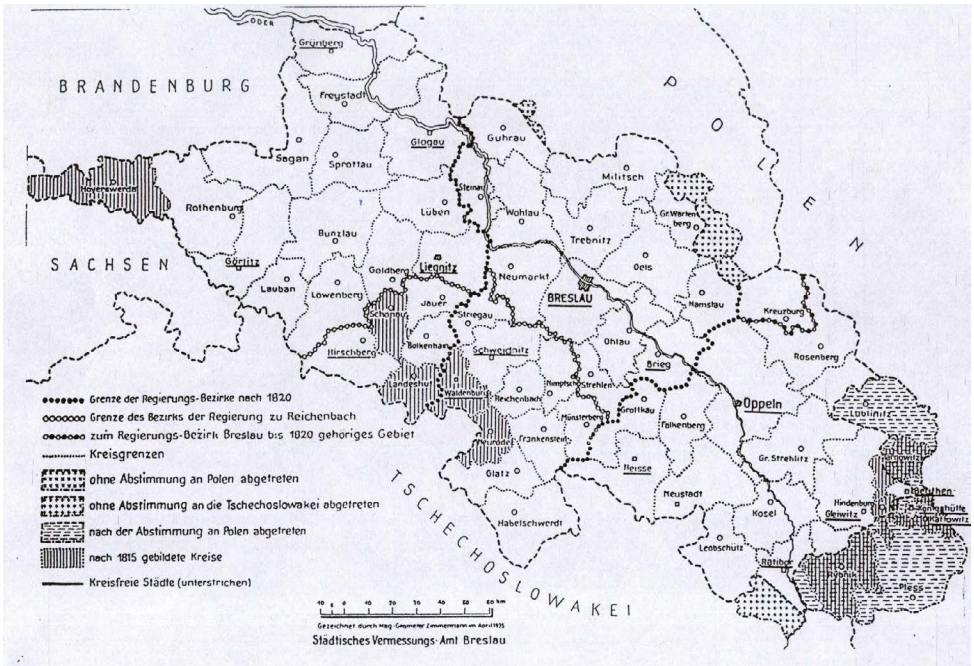
When the modernization of the state was undertaken during the Napoleonic era, Silesia's distinctness *vis-à-vis* other regions of the Prussian monarchy was eliminated. As a natural administrative construct, the region of Silesia (even taking account of the somewhat ahistorical borders given it) was a useful rung on the

[112] G. Michaelis, *Für Staat*, p. 239.
[113] *Ibidem*.

ladder of state management. In this sense, the state played a role in constituting Silesia as a separate region while simultaneously limiting the potential for the development of regional separatism. It is very possible that in doing so, it contributed to the development of a sub-regional identity. The creation of a separate Opole regency was most certainly a step towards reinforcing the distinctness of Upper Silesia.

Provincial self-government may have played a role in the integration of the region's residents, but due to the short leash it was kept on by state administration this role was short-lived. Its powers were not significantly expanded until 1875, yet they remained within the system of the state bureaucracy. In sum, centralized attention to the cohesion of Silesia as a functional region contributed to its integration. The situation changed when religious, social and political tensions flared up in the latter half of the 19th century.

Administration was servile towards those in power, including both the landed gentry (Junkers) and large industry. Civil service posts were occupied primarily by people from these social groups, who represented conservative worldviews and fought against all movements seeking to alter the existing political order. They faithfully followed orders coming from the centre. They were active in combating the Catholic Church during the *Kulturkampf* period, and in removing the Polish language from schools and the public sphere in general. In doing so, they generated conflicts within local communities, reinforcing religious and national identities. As a result, regional identification receded from view.



Map 2. The Province of Silesia in 1922 (map from: *Kultur und Arbeit einer deutschen Grenzmark*, eds Bruno Salomon, Erwin Stein, Berlin 1926, p. 25).

Teresa Kulak
University of Wrocław

The economy and socioeconomic processes in the Silesia region (from the mid-18th century to 1918)

Abstract:

An analysis of issues and socio-economic processes in Hohenzollern-ruled Silesia one can distinguish three periods, relevant to the political events that were of import in Prussia and the Reich in the years: 1741-1815, 1816-1870 and 1871-1918. These corresponded to socio-economic changes in the region. In the first period the region of Silesia was undergoing a change from a state-based, feudal to capitalistic economy. The Silesians were bereft of their council, laden with obligations of a fiscal nature as well as towards the army. Due to these conditions the Prussian authorities were unable to win them nor unify internally Upper and Lower Silesia. Only the Stein-Hardenberg Reforms led to their willing integration with Prussia and involvement in the war against Napoleon. The cessation of reforms after 1816 led to the middle classes struggling during the Spring of Nations to create constitutional rule and complete the affranchisement of the peasants, which was necessary for the development of capitalist economy. The settlement of these issues led to the Silesians developing a strong bond with Prussia, during the unification of Germany. It appeared as if Silesian regional awareness was about to weaken in favour of national awareness, but this process was halted due to an economic depression and competition for markets for Silesian products in the Reich. This led to the formation of intra-province economic connections, which was aided by differences in the economic potentials of its sub-regions. Upper Silesian mining and metallurgical industries made use of Lower Silesian output, predominantly agricultural, light industry and engineering which became an outlet for its products as well as a source of food supply. This economic integrity of the region was interrupted by the outbreak of World War I, following which the region was separated in terms of state and administration.

Keywords:

Silesia, Wrocław, agriculture, economy, industrialization, modernization

1. From Silesian ‘distinctness’ from Prussia to political integration (1740-1815)

Regional integration/disintegration of Silesia under the reign of Friedrich II

Acquisition of the economic and demographic potential of Silesia was the root cause of the aggression initiated by Friedrich II in 1740, and had been planned even

before he acceded to the throne[1]. This conquest expanded the territory of his state by over one-third, and boosted its population by over half[2]. The aggression drove a wedge between the inhabitants of Silesia, revealing two opposing camps: one pro-Austrian and the other pro-Prussian[3]. The former, represented by Catholics primarily from Upper Silesia, defended the claims of Queen Maria Theresa; the latter, dominated in Lower Silesia by the Protestant nobility and bourgeoisie, constituted a Prussophile integrative community[4]. The king did not incorporate the conquered lands into Prussia, but did impose a similar internal administrative structure on them, creating two War and Domain Chambers. The distinctness of Silesia's regional status, different – as was said at the time – from the old Prussian provinces[5], was symbolised by the office of the minister of Silesia during the period 1742–1808. This distinctness led to doubts on the part of Friedrich II as to the durability of his conquest (which became definitive only after the conclusion of a peace settlement in 1763 in Hubertusburg). It also resulted from the artificiality of the union between Silesia and the Prussian state, itself the product of military victory. There was previously no trade between Silesia and Brandenburg, and Silesians faced blockades on products sent via the Odra to Hamburg[6]. The distinctness of Silesia in this situation was superficial, as it was bound to Prussia by the absolute power of the monarch. He viewed himself as essentially the private owner of his state, and conducted a policy focused on the collection of taxes and amassing financial resources[7]. Present-day scholars tend to limit their perceptions to the 'pragmatism' of the era, defined

[1] Władysław Konopczyński, *Fryderyk Wielki a Polska*, Poznań 1947, p. 16; see also: Peter Baumgart, *Schlesien als eingenständige Provinz im altpreußischen Staat (1740-1806)*, [in:] *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas*, pp. 346–353.

[2] In 1740, the territory of Prussia amounted to 118,926 km^2, and was populated by ca. 2,240 thousand inhabitants. The conquered part of Silesia (37,280 km^2) was populated by ca. 1,160 thousand inhabitants, cf. *Generalne tabele statystyczne Śląska z 1787 r.,* ed. Tadeusz Ładogórski, Wrocław 1954, pp. 24–25.

[3] W. Długoborski, J. Gierowski, K. Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia*, p. 582. See also: T. Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2, pp. 10–15.

[4] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 483; Colmar Grünhagen, *Zwei Demagogen im Dienste Friedrich des Grossen (Döblin und Morgenstern),* 'Abhandlungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur', 1 (1861), pp. 72–85.

[5] The territory of contemporary Prussia is discussed by Peter Baumgart, *Ständetum und Staatsbildung in Brendenburg-Preußen. Zur Einführung und Problemstellung*, [in:] *Ständetum und Staatsbildung in Brandenburg-Preußen,* ed. Peter Baumgart, Berlin 1983, p. 8.

[6] *Historia Śląska*, vol. I, part 3, pp. 183, 232; W. Długoborski, J. Gierowski, K. Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia*, p. 548.

[7] S. Salmonowicz, *Fryderyk II*, pp. 60–64; *idem*, *Prusy*, p. 168; Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, pp. 230–231.

as an 'absolutist system of efficient state administration adapted to the needs of an ambitious superpower'[8].

The king was one of the so-called 'populationists'[9], who linked increases in taxes and income with population growth. The potential for financial benefits contributed to discernible haste in the creation of chambers, as well as in the introduction of new taxes on 31st August 1741, which were thus imposed even before achieving hegemony in Upper Silesia and the military resolution of the First Silesian War. The imposed taxation system was modelled on the Prussian one, meaning that villages and landed estates, as well as excise and non-excise cities, were treated differently[10]. The king also applied the Prussian model in enforcing taxes and customs duties, responsibility for which was borne by war and taxation councillors (*Kriegs-steuerräte*) who forwarded the gathered sums to the chambers. The system of top-down management of economic and financial matters by the bureaucratic apparatus of the chambers, acting under the strict orders of the monarch, is sometimes referred to as 'chamberism' and is considered a typical institution for the mercantilist Prussian policy of the era[11]. Officers of the chambers and tax collectors were appointed from among residents of the old Prussian provinces. This led to the widespread conviction among Silesians that their new ruler did not trust them and would not treat his subjects favourably[12]. This belief caused them to be sceptical of Prussian authority, and they were especially concerned by their subjection to excessive taxation and the manner in which levies were enforced by outsiders.

Further unification with the Prussian monarchy took place in August 1743, when Friedrich II imposed compulsory military service on the Silesian peasantry and bourgeoisie in an army recruited according to the Prussian canton system[13]. At the same time, he took the decision to station around 35,000 soldiers inside the region's borders, which turned out to be a massive economic burden on the residents of excise cities[14]. They were subjected to a particularly harsh tax known as the 'service', which involved enforcement of an obligation for housing and maintenance

[8] J. Bahlcke, *Śląsk*, p. 92.

[9] Edward Lipiński, *Historia powszechnej myśli ekonomicznej do roku 1870*, 2nd ed., Warszawa 1981, p. 123.

[10] Kazimierz Orzechowski, *Historia ustroju Śląska 1202–1740*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 227–229.

[11] Hermann Fechner, *Die Wirkungen der preußischen Merkantilismus in Schlesien*, 'Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftssgeschichte', 2 (1909), pp. 315–323.

[12] M. Morgenbesser, *Geschichte*, p. 405.

[13] Jerzy Maroń, *Pruski system militarny*, [in:] *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia*, pp. 254–257.

[14] Colmar Grünhagen, *Die Einrichtung des Militärwesens in Schlesien bei die Beginn der preußischen Herrschaft*, 'Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Althertum Schlesiens', 33 (1889), p. 16.

of soldiers in the private residences of city dwellers. Civil servants, clergymen and the nobility were exempt from this duty, as were residents of Wrocław and the Sudeten Foothills. Residents of Wrocław were exempted from the military in exchange for service rendered to soldiers from the largest garrison in Silesia numbering (together with family members) between 4,000 and 9,300 people. The annual cost of their maintenance amounted to between 87,000 and 108,000 thalers. Potential recruits from the six counties of the Sudeten Foothills[15], who paid the princely sum of 2 thalers per year for their exemption, were to engage in the production of textiles, of importance to the region's economy.

Additional taxation burdens were imposed on the residents of cities converted into fortresses (Wrocław, Głogów, Brzeg, Nysa, Kłodzko, Koźle and Świdnica)[16]. They were required both to make payments and provide labour related to the construction and maintenance of walls, moats and earthen fortifications. The strain of the taxes and military obligations led to the development of anti-Prussian sentiment[17]. This proved particularly strong in Wrocław, where the plan to organise a Wrocław Fair failed as a result of the presence of the military garrison occupying the main market square and other locations intended for trade[18]. In researching the issue of Silesians' attitude towards Prussia, Colmar Grünhagen stated definitively that the matter of military levies, including military service, was 'a serious barrier to the integration of the new province in the Prussian monarchy'[19]. The totality of these negative experiences served to reinforce the feeling of regional distinctiveness among Silesians. The oppressive taxation system and additional financial burdens imposed by Friedrich II succeeded in alienating even those who, as one chronicler of the time noted, had 'let themselves be fooled' by the emperor's 'mildness and gentleness'[20].

[15] These were mountainous districts: Bolesławiec, Lwówek Śląski, Jelenia Góra, Jawor, Kamienna Góra-Bolków and Świdnica.

[16] The Srebrna Góra fortress was erected between 1763 and 1785. See: Grzegorz Podruczny, Tomasz Przerwa, *Twierdza Srebrna Góra,* Wrocław 2010.

[17] W. Długoborski, J. Gierowski, K. Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia*, p. 562.

[18] Wacław Długoborski, *Targi wrocławskie 1742-1749. Przyczynek do dziejów związków gospodarczych Śląska z Polską*, 'Roczniki Historyczne', 18 (1949), p. 328.

[19] C. Grünhagen, *Die Einrichtung*, p. 18.

[20] Johann Georg Steinberger, *Breslauisches Tagebuch 1740–1742*, ed. Egon Traeger, Breslau 1891, p. 222.

Effects of the lack of regional economic cohesion

The terrain conquered by Friedrich II was dominated by farmland, the majority of which was the property of nobles, occupying approx. 67.8% of the total territory of Silesia. A further 15.1 % was the property of the Catholic Church, and 9.7 % constituted crown lands taken from the Habsburgs. A total of 5.2% of Silesian land belonged to cities, and a mere 0.1% was in the hands of the bourgeoisie[21]. Silesia as it stood at this time should not be treated as a homogenous region in an economic sense, and the administrative-taxation districts demarcated as War and Domain Chambers were inconsistent with the historical division of the region into Upper and Lower Silesia. Upper Silesia was dominated by feudal ownership, which limited the development of private initiatives in the majority of cities, and the situation of the rural population was made more difficult by inherited servitude linked with the land which they farmed, but the land itself was not inheritable[22]. This situation distinguished Upper Silesia from its counterpart in Lower Silesia, where serf homesteads were retained, which facilitated the development of leased property. The poor condition of Upper Silesian agriculture was also the result of sandy soils and extensive forests along the right bank of the Odra[23]. Better land was to be found in the vicinity of Nysa, Prudnik, Głubczyce and Racibórz, where alongside grain planters sowed flax, tobacco and hops, and where dress-making, weaving, smithery and breweries all thrived[24]. Significant amounts of iron ore were extracted around Bytom and Tarnowskie Góry, where fourteen giant furnaces and forty fineries fired by charcoal operated[25]. Rock coal was also mined in small quantities around Pszczyna and Ruda Śląska[26].

The speed of economic growth in Lower Silesia was often dependent on the situation in Wrocław and crown cities, which played an important role in artisanal production, as well as local, regional and transit trade. The fertile Odra valley made an ideal location for both crop production and husbandry[27], while the Sudeten Foothills were distinguished by their level of industrialization, with the famed linen and dress-making industry and mines. In 1742, the Wałbrzych, Nowa Ruda and Kłodzko

[21] Data from 1787, see: *Historia Śląska*, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 136–137.

[22] This diversification is explained by Kazimierz Orzechowski, *Chłopskie posiadanie ziemi na Górnym Śląsku u schyłku epoki feudalne*j, Opole 1950.

[23] For more information, see: Julian Janczak, *Rozmieszczenie produkcji roślinnej i zwierzęcej na Śląsku na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1964.

[24] Tadeusz Ładogórski, *Rozmieszczenie ludności i miast na Śląsku w końcu XVIII w*., 'Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski', 2 (1968), pp. 89–94.

[25] Friedrich Wallenstein, *Historya górnictwa na Górnym Śląsku. Na pamiątkę stuletniego istnienia knapszaftu górnośląskiego pod berłem pruskiem*, Bytom 1892, p. 124.

[26] Jerzy Jaros, *Zarys dziejów górnictwa węglowego*, Warszawa–Kraków 1975, p. 31.

[27] J. Janczak, *Rozmieszczenie*, *passim*.

Valleys were home to a total of nine functioning coal mines[28]. Lower Silesian Wilderness (*Bory Dolnośląskie*), located within the Głogów chamber, was the site of a number of mills (around Szprotawa, Kożuchów and Nowa Sól), which made use of local wood and bog iron deposits. Even after both halves of Silesia had been taken over in 1742 by Friedrich II, they each continued to live their own, separate economic lives. What impacted the internal 'split' in the economy of Upper and Lower Silesia was the issue of transport, specifically the poor condition of roads and facilities to aid navigation of the Odra. The destruction wreaked by the war also led to a weakening of international trade and transit. These factors only enhanced Silesia's isolation from neighbouring areas, and particularly from the relatively small (one-ninth of historical Silesia) territory that remained under the rule of the Habsburgs where, on 14th August 1743 in Vienna, the Estates of the Crown of Bohemia handed Prussia their rights over Silesia[29]. The lasting separation and disintegration of what had previously been a uniform territory was formally sanctioned in Austria in 1782.[30]

Estate limitations of the Prussian socioeconomic system

The king transferred to Silesia his model of an absolute monarchy ruling in close cooperation with a group of owners of landed feudal estates. This is why the Silesian nobility was given assurances that existing relations in the countryside would remain unchanged, including administration and judicial authority entrusted to the estate, personal servitude and serfdom of the peasantry[31]. These privileged were enshrined in the lowest rates of land tax and exemption from military levies. Underlying the monarch's actions were motivations of a political and social nature intended to coopt regional elites. The Lower Silesian nobility, Protestant and not particularly wealthy, eagerly attached itself to the Hohenzollern court and reinforced the Prussian army following the receipt of titles during the Wrocław Homage of 7th November 1741. Upper Silesia, however, was a different story. The local rich Catholic landowning families with strong ties to Vienna, where many of them were located at the time, were counting on a Habsburg return. The lack of trust on the part of Prussian authorities towards members of this group was demonstrated by persecution which led them to sell their estates and to depart from

[28] Stanisław Michalkiewicz, *Niektóre zagadnienia z dziejów górnictwa w okręgu wałbrzyskim z drugiej połowie XVIII w*., 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 10 (1955), No. 1-2, pp. 185–186. Four mines in the Kłodzko region are referred to by A. Herzig, M. Ruchniewicz, *Dzieje*, p. 212.

[29] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 493.

[30] D. Gawrecki a kol., *Dějiny*; D. Gawrecki, *Schlesien*, pp. 73–85; *idem*, *Śląskość w państwie Habsburgów 1742-1918*, 'Studia Śląskie', 52 (1993), pp. 48–51.

[31] *Historia chłopów śląskich*, ed. Stefan Inglot, Warszawa 1979, p. 162.

Silesia. In 1742, the nobility was unable to advance its own candidates to *Landrats* in Upper Silesia and in the Kłodzko region[32]. Equally significant was that the homage ceremony for Upper Silesia held in March 1743 was not graced by the presence of the king, who elected to cede that honour to Gen. Hans Carl von der Marwitz. During the Second Silesian War (1744–1745), the inhabitants of Upper Silesia (nobility, bourgeoisie and peasants – deserters from the Prussian army) provided extensive aid to the Austrians, whom they perceived as 'liberators from Prussian slavery'[33]. Pro-Austrian sentiment was also present in the Kłodzko area, as well as in the previously Prussophile Lower Silesian counties of Świdnica and Jawor, whose residents were rewarded for their troubles by having their property confiscated[34].

Military and tax levies were shifted to the peasantry and the bourgeoisie, with the latter being treated as the primary source of income to the state treasury. Wrocław city dwellers were particularly vexed by the loss of their municipal self-government and control of its economic activity by the chambers, high internal customs duties and the retention of the customs border between Silesia and the remaining portion of the monarchy. This provided the king with additional revenue to the treasury, and also allowed him to exert control over the Silesian economy while attaining other sources of revenue. A particularly sensitive matter was the Wrocław chamber's annual seizure of budget surpluses achieved by the city. Initially the entire sum was taken, then from 1745 a fixed amount of approx. 14,000 thalers was collected regardless of the condition of the city's finances. During times of crisis this meant the city was in debt to the state[35]. It was also forced to make annual payments of 1,000 thalers to the Manufacturing Fund, which the king used as a source of money for developing other, less economically advanced regions of Prussia. The income of many Lower Silesian cities from the production of plants for textile dye was also drastically reduced, as the interests of Berlin-based producers were given priority and farming was expanded in Brandenburg and Pomerania. In addition, the borders of Silesia were closed through high customs duties to imports of foreign goods such as silk fabrics and porcelain, which had to be purchased from new factories established in Berlin and Potsdam, whose wares were of poorer quality and higher prices than those from abroad[36]. The king favoured Berlin and Brandenburg, which had a deleterious effect on the Silesian economy. He assumed

[32] M. Konopnicka, *Szlachcic*, p. 223–224.

[33] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 1, part 3, pp. 491–492, 502.

[34] *Ibidem*, p. 498.

[35] Fany Lewald, *Breslaus Stadt-Haushalt. Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung als Beitrag zur Würdigung der Erfolge des Preußischen Städte-Ordnung*, Leipzig 1835, p. 121.

[36] G. Wąs, *Dzieje Śląska*, pp. 225–226.

that the levelling of economic potential within the borders of the state would come at the cost of those inhabiting Silesia and its capital[37].

Wrocław's residents demonstrated their objection to the king's exploitative policy in 1757, during the Third Silesian War. During fighting over Wrocław, they forced the Prussian commander of the fortress to surrender it to the attacking Austrians. Convinced that this would be a permanent state of affairs, after the departure of their armies both the Catholic and Protestant churches in the city hosted services of gratitude for 'liberation from the Prussians'[38]. After the defeat of the Austrian armies, Friedrich II punished the city by imposing a 500,000 thaler contribution and pursuing treason charges. Another costly effect of his harshness towards the bourgeoisie was the edict *Recht zum eigenthümlichen Besitz adelicher Land- oder Ritter-Güther in Schlesien,* in which he forbade the acquisition of land in Silesia by individuals from outside the nobility, by the same token ensuring a monopoly on land for the Silesian aristocracy[39]. They were also granted a moratorium on their war debts, and beginning in 1770 they benefitted from financial assistance provided by the *Schlesische Landschaft*[40].

Thanks to these expressions of concern for the welfare of the nobility's wealth and social standing, the king secured unshakeable support for his rule as well as a reservoir of talent for the officer and civil servant classes. The bourgeoisie, however, and particularly the citizenry of Wrocław, let down in their support for the Habsburgs, oppressed by taxes which took two-thirds of their income[41] and also deprived of the capacity to take decisions regarding important economic matters, endured in their regional distinctiveness and aversion to the monarch. He was charged with extracting tremendous revenues from Silesia while failing to undertake any public investment, and also without allocating resources for productive enterprises. Awareness of the impoverishment of cities and the arrested development of its economy enhanced the feeling of regional distinctness on the part of Silesia's

[37] This problem was revisited in the interwar period in official letters of the Wrocław Chamber of Industry and Commerce, which argued that Silesia had lost its position in international trade after it had been conquered by Prussia, and taking over its economic potential allowed the latter to quickly establish itself as a superpower (Aufschwung zur Grossmachtstellung). See: Hans Freymark, *Schlesiens Bedeutung für deutsche Wirtschaft und Kultur*, Breslau 1926 (=Schriften der Industrie und Handelskammer, No. 2), pp. 8–9; *idem*, *Schlesiens Wirtschaft - eine deutsche Lebensfrage,* Breslau 1927 (=Schriften der Industrie und Handelskammer, No. 10), p. 8.

[38] On the atmosphere in the city, see: T. Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2, pp. 20–21.

[39] Johannes Ziekursch, *Hundert Jahre schlesischer Agrargeschichte vom Hubertusburger Frieden bis zum Abschluss der Bauernbefreiung,* Breslau 1927, p. 127.

[40] Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, pp. 160–161.

[41] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 69.

inhabitants, which also served to deepen their integration based on aversion to Prussian rule.

The impact of Friedrich's settlement policy and the policy of 'protecting the peasants'

The conclusion of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) marked the beginning of a new phase in the integration of Silesia with the Prussian state, ensuring the retention of Silesian lands. Wars had led to widespread destruction and drastic reductions in the population, which was confirmed in consecutive censuses: in 1748, Silesia was home to 1,138,000 people, while in 1756 this number was 1,162,000, but only 1,116,000 in 1763[42]. After the First Silesian War the king initiated a programme of settlement in the crown's lands, which was intensified following the Third Silesian War but in a new form, with colonization assuming the figure of a top-down and Prussia-wide tax, agrarian, demographic and military policy. It was first applied to Silesia, and then from 1772 to the lands acquired from the first partition of Poland[43]. Settlement activity in Silesia was primarily concentrated in sparsely populated and heavily forested counties between Opole and Racibórz[44]. Settlers recruited from inside the Reich, Czech lands and Austria, as well as Protestants coming from Polish lands, formed settlements that were exempt from the feudal service imposed on serfs, as it was in precisely this group that the king perceived the presence of the producers, taxpayers and recruits that the state needed. As a result of the colonization led by the state and wealthy landowners, during the reign of Friedrich II a total of 306 colonies were established (including 36 before the year 1756) and 100 more following his death in 1786[45]. They were predominantly small agricultural settlements, but there were also textile weavers' colonies and industrial villages (*Fabricdorfer*) specialising in various forms of production, all contributing to the future growth of the region's economy. The number of residents in Silesia grew from the end of the Seven Years' War to 1,747,000 by the year 1787[46]. However, there is no singular estimate of the total number of settlers coming to Silesia,

[42] W. Długoborski, J. Gierowski, K. Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia*, p. 523; Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, p. 203.

[43] *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 2: *Do roku 1815*, ed. Gerard Labuda, Poznań 1984, p. 638.

[44] Cf. Milan Šmerda, *Opolskie i kozielskie majątki kameralne w latach 1666-1727*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 13 (1958), No. 4, pp. 537–577.

[45] Kazimierz Zimmermann, *Fryderyk Wielki i jego kolonizacja rolna na ziemiach Polski*, vol. 1, Poznań 1915, pp. 112–114; *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas*, p. 388–389.

[46] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 27.

with the figure of 60,000 being cited most frequently[47]. As the king's orders declared that 'purely Polish areas' would be settled 'only by German peoples'[48], the Friedrichian colonization of Upper Silesia constituted a disintegrating factor for the indigenous communities living there, and was transformed into a weapon of Prussian nationalist policy.

The far more extensive colonization conducted by landowners, who frequently deprived free serfs of their farmsteads then divided up the land and settled it with sharecroppers, was not a nationalist enterprise. In 1743, Friedrich II forbade the nobility from expelling free serfs and taking over their farmsteads, a move which is perceived as his 'protection of the peasants' (*Bauernschutz)*. However, this 'protection' gave rise to an important paradox, as for each newly settled location the landowner – as Johannes Ziekursch established – received during the period 1770–1805 anywhere from 70 to 140 thalers in 'damages' from the government[49]. It could be said that the king in fact desired to slow the liquidation of free serfs' farmsteads, as they were taxed at higher rates than the property of landowners and provided greater revenues to the state treasury. However, real 'protection' for the peasants would have been the abolition of serfdom, something the king elected not to do. The countryside was further alienated from Prussian authority by the ruthless collection of taxes and widely despised military conscription[50].

This was a socially important issue when considering that in 1790, a total of 83% of the Silesian population lived in villages.

Regional realities of crown (state) investments in Upper Silesia (1769–1806)

A new phase in the development of the regional economy in Silesia began in 1766 with a plan for a general rebuilding of Prussia referred to as *Retablissement*, for which funding was to come from the General Administration of Customs and Excise Duties (referred to as *Régie*). Carrying out the extremely mercantilist orders of the king, it provoked general disgust and hatred by the imposition of higher taxes (particularly indirect taxes) and expansion of state monopolies. Initially, these monopolies applied to salt, grain, tobacco, natural and roasted coffee and wood, and later extended to fuels and iron products. This state control of internal trade

[47] *Ibidem*. Cf. P. Baumgart, *Schlesien*, p. 388. See also: Henryk Borek, *Kolonizacja fryderycjańska na Górnym Śląsku w odbiciu nazewnictwa miejscowego*, 'Studia Śląskie', 47 (1989), pp. 21–22.

[48] Johannes Ziekursch*, Die innere Kolonisation im altpreußischen Schlesien*, 'Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens', 48 (1914), p. 117.

[49] *Ibidem*, pp. 125–126.

[50] C. Grünhagen, *Die Einrichtung*, p. 18; Józef Kokot, *Polityka gospodarcza Prus i Niemiec na Śląsku,* Poznań 1948, p. 63; P. Baumgart, *Schlesien,* p. 364.

provided the crown with a significant boost in revenue, but at the cost of the earnings of the merchant class. This was a source of deep dissatisfaction in cities, as it struck at the heart of their well-being.

From 1769, the king was involved in both industrial production and extraction in Upper Silesia. His first economic initiative was the 1753 creation of the Royal Mills in the forests around Mała Panew and near Kluczbork[51], where the production of weaponry, primarily cannons for Silesia's fortresses, was taken up. Settlements were also founded in such places as Ozimek (1754) and Zagwiżdże (1755)[52]. The king initiated a comprehensive programme for new investments in 1769, linking them with the establishment of the State Mining Authority and statutory designation of mining rights. By issuing the mining ordinance, he led to the systematisation of mining law and regulated the legal situation of owners of mines and mills along with those employed in them. The oversight rules set out in the mining ordinance, referred to as the directorial principle, were reserved for the State Mining Authority. Mine owners protested against it, and then later boycotted it when attempts to have it repealed proved unsuccessful[53].

The king's strategy for the economic development of Upper Silesia was subordinated to the army's needs for armaments. It is thus no exaggeration to say that this constituted the first time military expenditures served to accelerate a state's economy, something which became a common phenomenon later in the history of not only Prussia and Germany[54]. The king's activities encompassed a historically formed but economically underdeveloped sub-region, whose 'growth factors' consisted in the natural resources buried in the earth and its labour force, primarily feudal serfs. For these reasons, the development of Upper Silesian industry was tightly coupled with feudal land ownership. The king was focused on iron metallurgy, which created products of use to the army. Those products were also sold internally and in Poland, the Czech lands and even in England, where technology and the primary contractors came from. During his reign the *Friedrichsgrube* zinc and lead mine was opened near Tarnowskie Góry in 1784, along with the *Friedrichshütte* lead mine in Strzybnica[55]. State investments had a direct impact on the level of coal

[51] Hermann Fechner, *Die Königlichen Eisenhüttenwerke Malapane und Kreuzburgerhütte bis zu ihrer Uebernahme durch das Schlesische Oberbergamt. 1753 bis* 1780, 'Zeitschrift für Berg- Hütten und Salinen-Wesen', 43 (1903), pp. 1–28.

[52] Irma Nalepa-Orłowska, *Fryderycjańskie osadnictwo na Opolszczyźnie 1754–1803*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 5 (1963), p. 114.

[53] S. Michalkiewicz, *Niektóre zagadnienia*, pp. 210–211.

[54] Janusz Pajewski, *Węzłowe problemy dziejów Prus XVIII-XX wieku*, Poznań 1971, p. 89.

[55] Jerzy Jaros, *Historia górnictwa węglowego w Zagłębiu Górnośląskim do 1814 roku*, Wrocław –Warszawa–Kraków 1965, pp. 13–14 and 81–82.

extraction in Upper Silesia, which remained in private hands, and which reached a production level of approx. 15,000 tonnes in 1786. This output was not particularly significant, as in the same year the Wałbrzych and Kłodzko–Nowa Ruda Basins had a total of 27 working mines extracting seven times that amount of coal[56].

The inception of industrialization did not change the previously elaborated 'split' in the Silesian region's economy. This gap was not closed by the monarch, who rarely visited Upper Silesia and did not invest in road construction. It could be said that the Silesian subjects of Friedrich II did not particularly appreciate his achievements, as news of his death in August 1786 – irrespective of the official mourning – was received practically as a sign of deliverance[57]. One pastor from Świebodzice said openly that 'the king had lived for far too long, and thousands expected that his successor, of such generous features, would relieve them of their crushing burdens, remedy the obvious mistakes in management, and work to relax the strictness of governments which had in recent times been inconceivably harsh'[58]. The principle of maintaining state unity with Prussia was not questioned, as hope for positive change was placed in his successor, Friedrich Wilhelm II, who eliminated the General Administration of Customs and Excise Duties in 1787. Thus, in somewhat liberalised conditions work began in 1787–1806 on the proto-industrialization of Silesia. The economic activeness of Silesians rose, and a boom in agriculture led the countryside to increase the scale of animal husbandry and acreage of cultivated land for the production of goods to be consumed and for further processing. Lower Silesian manufacturing, primarily textiles, reached its highest levels of production and employment, and its share of total Silesian exports went as high as 80%. Linen fabrics were transported through Spain to be forwarded by sea to Brazil. Meanwhile, a portion sent via the Odra through Hamburg went as far as India, China and the Dutch colonies in south-eastern Asia[59]. Steam-powered machines were installed at Wrocław factories, and silk, jacquard weaves and cotton percales

[56] Hermann Fechner, *Geschichte des schlesischen Berg- und Hüttenwesens in der Zeit Friedrich's des Grossen, Friedrich Wilhelm's II und Friedrich Wilhelm's III. 1741-1806*, Berlin 1903, pp. 453, 457.

[57] The king's death meant that the inhabitants of Wrocław no longer had to repay their debt of 886,162 thalers to the king's coffers, which the city incurred as it failed to pay the annual financial 'surplus' it did not generate owing to the economic crisis. Cf. W. Długoborski, J. Gierowski, K. Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia*, p. 794.

[58] Karl Gottlieb Hoffmann, *Geschichte von Schlesien aus der altesten Zeit bis der unsere Tage*, Schweidnitz 1829, p. 525.

[59] H. Freymark, *Schlesiens Wirtschaft*, pp. 9–10.

were produced, all of which had previously been banned by the Chamber due to the necessity of purchasing imported raw materials[60].

Friedrich Wilhelm II expanded state investment in Upper Silesia in conjunction with the need for armaments during wars conducted against revolutionary France. His first investments were in state coal mines, creating in 1791 the *König* mine near Chorzów, while Zabrze in 1796 saw the establishment of the *Königin Luise* pit. State enterprises were distinguished by the technological innovation that was the continent's first use in 1788 of a steam-powered machine for the dehydration of zinc ore products, and the use of coke in 1802 to melt raw materials at the *Königshütte* Royal Smelter.[61] The number of mines in 1806 grew to 35 in the Upper Silesia area, and to 49 in the Wałbrzych and Kłodzko-Nowa Ruda Basins, where production numbers were several orders of magnitude higher. However, the focus there was solely on coal mining, while Upper Silesia had greater potential for growth. Not only did this boast extensive coal resources, but it also led Prussia in metallurgy and the processing of iron, lead and zinc. However, it is not felt that the king's industrialization drive impacted integration of Silesians from the two halves of Silesia. This is likely because of differences in the ownership of capital and means of production employed. Lower Silesia at that time did not have any state-owned mines, and while the pits were essentially the property of feudal lords, there were also owners from among the urban population, the communes of Biały Kamień and Gorce, and the municipality of Boguszów. There was also peasant capital organised in the form of companies. Not even the problem of the unregulated Odra river, one that was of particular salience for the sale of coal, managed to convince entrepreneurs from the two halves of Silesia to work in concert. Regulation of the river in Lower Silesia was initiated in 1785, along with the construction of a canal from the Wałbrzych Basin to Malczyce, completed in 1805. In Upper Silesia, the construction of the Kłodnicki Canal was not begun until 1792 and lasted until 1822.

In spite of the more favourable conditions at the end of the 18th century for economic growth, the Lower Silesian bourgeoisie experienced yet another massive disappointment. It had counted on the third partition of Poland, performed in 1795 and incorporating of all of its lands extending as far as Warsaw into Prussia, to provide new economic prospects. However, fearing commercial competition for Berlin, the king did not permit free trade with them. It would seem that this fact largely de-

[60] Hans Roemer, *Die Baumwollspinnerei in Schlesien bis zum preußischen Zollgesetz 1818,* Breslau 1914, p. 104.

[61] J. Jaros, *Historia górnictwa węglowego w Zagłębiu Górnośląskim do 1814 roku*, pp. 270–271; Wojciech Zaleski, *Dzieje górnictwa i hutnictwa na Górnym Śląsku do roku 1806*, Madrid 1967, p. 150.

termined the friendly attitudes of Lower Silesians towards the legions of the *Grande Armee* entering at the end of 1806 under the command of Jérôme Bonaparte[62]. It turned out that over several decades the Prussian authorities had failed to unite both the rural and urban populations around the state; now the state could not even count on its own civil servants, nor on the loyalty of the propertied classes. Practically all of the former swore allegiance to Napoleon[63], while the latter went so far in their cooperation with the invader as to agree to employ his armies in the suppression of peasant revolts against serfdom and war exploitation that erupted in the summer of 1807. Only the avarice and the financial abuses of the French war commissariat, combined with the financial burden of housing officers in the private residences of urbanites, succeeded in turning the civilian population against the French[64]. However, the most important matter influencing regional attitudes was their announcement of Prussian internal reforms. Performance of obligations associated with payment of its portion of tributes to France was thus accelerated, and Napoleon's armies left Silesia at the turn of 1808–1809 (except for Głogów, which remained under French rule until 1814).

The integrating role of the Stein-Hardenberg economic reforms (1807–1815)

After the defeat of Prussia in the war with Napoleon, the announcement in October 1807 of Friedrich Wilhelm II's edict lifting serfdom was the start of a process of reforms initiated by the minister of internal affairs, Friedrich Karl von Stein. While feudal duties were not abolished, the peasants were granted personal liberty, including the right to leave the village and to select their profession. The monopoly on land ownership granted to the nobility by Friedrich II was also abolished, allowing for it to be purchased regardless of the estate to which the buyer belonged. From the perspective of Silesian economic growth this edict was a turning point in its feudal order, and it constituted the first step towards a transformation in agrarian relations. Assessments were harsh: it was judged too radical for the nobility while too timid for the peasantry, thus rather than generating social consolidation it sparked

[62] What is particularly telling, similar reactions were also observed in Szczecin, see: Lucyna Turek-Kwiatkowska, *Obraz przeszłości regionu w świadomości historycznej społeczeństwa pomorskiego w pierwszej połowie XIX w*., Szczecin 1978, p. 43.

[63] Theodor Merckel, who went on to become the *Oberpräsident* of the Silesian province, did not place his oath, cf. Otto Linke*, Freiherr Theodor von Merckel im Dienste fürs Vaterland,* vol. 1.: *Bis September 1810*, Breslau 1907, p. 22.

[64] For more information, see: T. Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2, pp. 114–116.

internal conflict[65]. A wave of peasant protests beginning in 1808 encompassed practically all of Silesia, whose high-water mark was the armed peasant rebellion of February 1811, which engulfed several dozen communes in Upper Silesia[66]. The enfranchisement edict issued in 1811, referred to as the edict of regulation, which treated the regulation process as one of inherited farmsteads into dependent peasant ownership, meaning freedom from serfdom (which took place in government estates in 1808). Under the pressure of the Silesian nobility these provisions were modified in the so-called Declaration of 1816, excluding a portion of farms, particularly smaller ones and ones formed in the preceding decades. However, serfs from inherited estates could secure their freedom by paying damages in grain and money, or by handing over one-third of arable land (if the peasant was a hereditary user of the land) or one-half if he was a non-hereditary user[67].

The Silesian nobility did not want to forfeit the right to the corvee at both feudal estates and industrial enterprises. In 1827, it was again demanded from serfs and indentured labourers. Peasants were deprived of forest and pasture easements, and encumbered with extensive feudal dues. In the face of resistance by the Junkers, modernization of the state was only a partial success as social relations in the countryside faced the threat of further conflict. The main beneficiaries of the October edict's liberalisation of the sale of land were the bourgeoisie. That portion of society was addressed in the municipal ordinance (*Ordnung für sämtliche Städte der preussischen Monarchie*) of November 1808. It restored municipal self-government, and handed power in them to citizens (*Bürger*) who constituted a municipal commune whose authorities were elected in censitary elections[68]. The collegial nature of self-government organs fostered the feeling of an integrated municipal community and civic spirit (*Bürgersinn*)[69]. In March 1812, the urban populace was reinforced both materially and numerically by Jews, who were granted Prussian civic rights (*preussische Staatsbürgerrecht*)[70].

[65] J. Ziekursch, *Hundert Jahre schlesische Agrargeschichte*, pp. 284–285. Cf. Hartmut Harnisch, *Vom Oktoberedikt des Jahres 1807 zur Deklaration von 1816. Problematik und Charakter der preußischen Agrarreformgesetzgebung zwischen 1807 und 1816*, Berlin 1978, pp. 235–236.

[66] Stanisław Michalkiewicz, *Powstanie chłopskie na Górnym Śląsku w 1811 roku*, Wrocław 1967, pp. 65–113.

[67] *Historia chłopów polskich*, vol. 2: *Okres zaborów,* ed. Stefan Inglot et al., Warszawa 1972, pp. 62–77.

[68] Rudolf Koselleck, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale Bewegung vom 1791 bis 1848*, Stuttgart 1967, pp. 163–164.

[69] Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866*, vol. 1: *Bürgerwelt und starker Staat*, München 1993, p. 255.

[70] L. Ziątkowski, *Między niemożliwym*, pp. 161–198.

The reforming efforts of Stein were complemented by the reforms of Chancellor Karl August von Hardenberg, who inaugurated his time in office in November 1810 with legislation instituting an industrial tax (*Gewerbesteuer-Gesetz*), paid by all producers and dependent on the level of income generated. A further reforming step was the edict announced one year later introducing freedom of profession in manufacturing and trade (*Gewerbefreiheits-Gesetz*). It abolished all forms of guild compulsion, as well as economic rights, privileges and monopolies left over from the Middle Ages concerning artisanal production and trade. Guildmasters were quick to protest against being deprived of their previous role. However, their approach began to change once they acquired the skills necessary to function in a capitalist economy[71].

The economic effects of the Hardenberg reforms were reinforced by the royal edict of secularization of October 1810, justified by the need to pay the war tribute and cover the costs of war with France. It should be emphasised that it was not until the confiscation of the Catholic Church's land that its economic and legal privileges from the Middle Ages could be eliminated. I mention this with a view to the fact that they had already been partially restricted in 1807 with the promulgation of the October edict, which provided for the enfranchisement of peasant farms in crown and church lands (excluding those belonging to clergy houses). However, in 1808, following the promulgation of the municipal charter, the church lost the right to possess private cities. By the same token, municipal self-governments obtained full rights to suburbs and the opportunity to extend the territory of cities, as this was where enclaves of clerical property were most often located. In reference to the Silesia region, German historiography emphasises the integrating role of secularization, as the granting of church lands to generals, statesmen and civil servants having rendered great service to the state 'brought to Silesia a Protestant, Prussian-thinking leadership class that served to deepen the province's ties with Prussia'[72]. Again, similar to 1741, the external Prussian factor was a co-determinant in the formation of bonds between the regional community and the Hohenzollern state.

The aforementioned reforms, while not necessarily in a uniform and equal manner, changed the legal and economic situation of the two largest groups in Prussian society: the bourgeoisie and the peasantry, which were transferred into an important factor in the developing capitalist economy, and also bore the brunt of the

[71] Heinrich Wendt, *Die kaufmännische Standesvertretung Breslaus vor Begründung der Handelskammer*, [in:] *Die Handelskammer Breslau 1849-1924. Festschift der Industrie und Handelskammer*, Breslau 1924, p. 10.

[72] J. Bahlcke, *Śląsk*, p. 99.

burden resulting from the way with Napoleonic France. Interested in pushing through reforms, the bourgeoisie clearly contributed to fostering the climate of a patriotic war for liberation. In Wrocław during the spring of 1813, it sparked a German-wide mobilisation for the fight with Napoleon, after which the previously defeated Prussia found itself among the victors. The war was an integrating factor for Silesia's inhabitants at the state level, as it was not until after that war, in the judgement of the renowned geographer and ethnologist Joseph Partsch, 'a proud conviction took root among all Silesians of their unbreakable bonds with Prussia and the German Reich'. The atmosphere of otherness surrounding them since the times of Friedrich II was also lifted, and Silesians finally ceased feeling themselves to be the 'late arrivers' among the provinces of Old Prussia[73]. Integrative tendencies within the state and adoption of its priorities served to limit the development of a modern regional identity.

2. Social and economic problems of the province of Silesia in the Prussian monarchy's new administrative order (1816–1870)

Regional effects of the industrialization of Upper Silesia and the catastrophe of Lower Silesian textile production in the first half of the 19th century

In spite of the 1818 abolition of internal customs duties concerning trade within the Prussian state, as well as the unification of weights, measures and currencies, the economy of the Silesian province was mired in stagnation due to the destruction of war. It was not until 1820–1830 that the economy improved, which was reflected in Upper Silesia by the record extraction of 280,403 tonnes of coal. During this period the internal primacy of the Upper Silesian Basin over that of coal production by the Lower Silesian Basin was established, with the latter producing only 192,109 tonnes[74]. Production there was limited by difficult geological and transport conditions, as well as the absence (similarly to Upper Silesia) of close cooperation between mines and the metallurgy industry, which was entering a phase of accelerated industrial growth. The number of steam-powered machines increased, and wood was replaced by coke, which allowed for more effective methods of melting raw materials and steel production through puddling.

[73] Josef Partsch, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde für das deutsche Volk auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage*, vol. 1: *Das ganze Land*, Breslau 1896, p. 24.

[74] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 240.

Upper Silesia was a leader in iron ore mining and metallurgy, and was responsible for around 40% of total Prussian output through 1850[75]. However, the share of the Prussian state in Upper Silesian industry was not particularly large, reaching 9.8% of iron metallurgy in and 4% in zinc metallurgy. The 'King', 'Queen Luiza' and the so-called *Erbstollen* state mines contributed only 15.9% of general coal production[76]. During that time, state authorities did not actively promote the intensive growth of Upper Silesian industry, but rather directed their energies towards the western provinces of Germany. They were supplanted in the production of zinc around Tarnowskie Góry and Bytom by the heirs to Georg von Giesche and Count Gwidon von Donnersmarck, Count Franz von Ballestrem and the 'zinc king' Karol Godula. A total of thirty-nine zinc smelters were concentrated in their hands, then constituting over 40% of world production. Coal production and metallurgy were led by Princes Hohenlohe and Pszczyński, Count Renard and Franz Winckler, as well as the representatives of two lines of the Donnersmarck family from Bytom and Świerklaniec. In the second half of the 19th century, they were the owners of seventy-eight metallurgy works and fifty coking plants employing local peasants, primarily from their own latifundia, and also immigrants from Galicia and the Congress Kingdom[77].

Industrialization affected the internal division of the Silesian region, leading within the Opole regency to a separation of the south-eastern portion of the industrialised Upper Silesia Basin from the agrarian Opole region. Accelerating technical and technological progress in metallurgy brought an end to production based on wood and bog iron. As a result, various metallurgy plants across the Lubliniec, Strzelce and Opole counties were liquidated. The modern metallurgy industry was concentrated in the immediate vicinity of mines, and this mutual interdependence was the root cause of the clear growth in their production volumes, as well as of the shift of industry into the south-eastern part of Silesia[78]. Coal deposits stretching from Zabrze through Lipiny, Chorzów and Siemianowice to Mysłowice were exploited. Alongside older industrial settlements like Bytom, Chorzów, Gliwice and Zabrze, new settlements were established in Katowice, Świętochłowice and Siemianowice. The Opole region was dominated in the main by agriculture and forestry. Farming of linen and sheep husbandry meant that Głuchołazy, Nysa, Głubczyce and Prudnik remained centres of clothing and textile production. The textile industry also expanded in Kluczbork, Kietrz, Żory, Pszczyna and Racibórz. Primacy in the agricultural industry belonged

[75] Kazimierz Popiołek, *Górnośląski przemysł górniczo-hutniczy w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, Katowice–Kraków 1965, p. 25.

[76] *Ibidem*, p. 28.

[77] Joel Raba, *Robotnicy śląscy 1850–1870. Praca i byt*, Londyn 1970, pp. 54–55.

[78] *Ibidem*, p. 25.

to the milling and brewing branches, joined in the 1840s by sugar production. Forested regions in the Opole, Olesno and Toszek-Gliwice counties were engaged in production, and there were numerous lumber, resin and paper works in Nysa county[79]. The number of glassworks grew to twenty-five in 1849. In Groszowice, near Opole, a modern facility for the production of portland cement was launched in 1857[80].

Textile production, the dominant industrial branch in Lower Silesia at the time, found itself in a difficult position. The Napoleonic blockade led to the loss of overseas markets for linen products, and the cotton industry was deprived of suppliers of cotton and high-quality yarn[81]. Drapery production, in turn, suffered in 1821 from protectionist tariffs imposed by Russia which closed off markets in the Congress Kingdom of Poland. Hopes associated with entry into the markets of states belonging to the Customs Union (formed in 1834) turned out to be unrealistic, as Silesian production ran into competition from higher-quality products coming from factory production in France, western and central Germany and England. Lower Silesian textile production was based on handcraft, and only broadcloth was manufactured in Wrocław, Legnica, Świdnica and Trzebnica. Mechanisation required capital expenditures, but the funds needed to realise this were lacking and difficult to acquire considering the excess of inexpensive labour. The first mechanical spinning mill was opened in the town of Świebodzice in 1818, but the next was not built until the 1830s near Bolków; spinneries were later erected in Bielawa, Pieszyce and Głuszyca. Their products were sold in the Grand Duchy of Poznań, Pomerania and Eastern Prussia. Export opportunities were also taken advantage of following the creation of a duty-free area in the Free City of Kraków, providing transit further east as far as Odessa for around one-quarter of textile and metallurgical production.

The crisis in the Lower Sileisa textile industry deepened as the 1840s approached due to a lack of demand, and both producers and buyers of yarn and woven cloth paid far too little as they sought to protect their profit margins; cottage producers faced hunger as a result of rising food prices resulting from a scarcity of grain and potato crop failure. The drastic lowering of wages in 1844 led to protests by cottagers and workers in weaveries in Bielawa and Pieszyce[82]. The army, summoned by

[79] Zbigniew Kwaśny, *Rozwój przemysłu na Górnym Śląsku w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1983 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No. 570, Historia 39), pp. 10–37.

[80] Bogdan Kortus, *Zmiany w uprzemysłowieniu województwa opolskiego w okresie od 1882 do 1956*, 'Materiały i Studia Opolskie', 4 (1962), No. 1/8, pp. 31–34.

[81] H. Roemer, *Die Baumwollspinnerei*, pp. 81–83.

[82] Bogusław Radlak, *Rozwój przemysłu tkackiego na Śląsku i powstanie tkaczy w 1844 r.*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów Śląska*, vol. 2, ed. Ewa Maleczyńska, Warszawa 1956, pp. 88–96; Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, pp. 398–400.

industrialists, murdered eleven weavers and injured 200. The majority of protesters were arrested and flogged, with some being sentenced to as long as nine years in prison. Events in Sudeten Foothills led to the collapse of the Lower Silesian cottage weaving industry. Some of the weavers emigrated to the Congress Kingdom of Poland, while others engaged in mechanical production, which began to expand dramatically. By 1849, Lower Silesia was home to thirteen mechanical weaveries, which demonstrates how the early wave of modernization made its way to both Silesia and other parts of Germany simultaneously[83]. It was most visible in Upper Silesia, where an internal regionalisation took place within the economy of the Opole regency. This industrialization impacted not only production and employment, but also the process leading to the formation of a feeling of distinctness on the part of the sub-region's inhabitants.

Transformations in agriculture and related industrial production

The regulation of feudal relations in the countryside did not impact the social position and economic role of large landed estates, and until the Spring of Nations in 1848, Prussia remained a feudal state. The material position of landowners was reflected in the fact that of 4,206 estates, only 1.5% of them constituted large estates, but they held in their possession 55.2% of arable land[84]. The process of serf enfranchisement essentially led to their pauperisation, as it deprived them of a significant portion of land and was drawn out as a result of the process of consolidation, during which the serfs were forced into a detrimental exchange of land. The most salient effect of the changes taking place in the countryside was a significant increase in the population of those with little or no land, forced as a result to take up work in manors. Some of them found employment in industrial production associated with agriculture: sugar refineries, brewing, tanneries and meat processing. The feudal manor gradually transformed into a capitalist enterprise[85], employing hired labourers in its mills, dairies, starch and oil refineries, brick ovens, and selling agricultural products. Hired labour was also common in medium-sized and large peasant farmsteads (from 7.6 to 75 ha), which encompassed around 80% of peasant lands.

[83] Thomas Nipperdey, *Problem modernizacji w Niemczech*, [in:] *idem*, *Rozważania o niemieckiej historii. Eseje*, translated by Andrzej Kopacki, Warszawa 1999, pp. 74–79.

[84] Seweryn Wysłouch, *Studia nad koncentracją w rolnictwie śląskim w latach 1850-1914. Struktura agrarna i jej zmiany*, Wrocław 1956.

[85] Zbigniew Kwaśny, *Rozwój przemysłu w majątkach Schaffgotschów w latach 1750-1850*, Wrocław 1965, pp. 172–215.

The process of proletarianisation among the rural population was strongest in industrialised regions, such as Bytom county in Upper Silesia and in the Sudeten Foothills, a portion of which comprised the Lower Silesian industrial region with Wałbrzych, Dzierżoniów and Strzegom. Already in the first half of the 19th century they constituted strong markets for the sale of agricultural products[86]. Across the whole of Silesia, sheep farming played a particularly important role beginning at the end of the 1830s, accounting for 18.4% of total stock in Prussia. The next four decades saw an expansion in the farming of fine-wool sheep, which provided the highly regarded 'Silesian wool'. During these boom times Wrocław became a major centre in the wool trade, distinguished by the pace of its economic growth, and as the capital of Silesia exerted a significant impact on the province's regional identity.

The introduction of crop rotation and the sowing of plants for fodder brought significant benefits to peasant farming, enabling profitable husbandry of poultry and fatstock. The liquidation of fallow grounds and melioration, facilitated by a well-executed state policy, allowed for the expansion of industrial farming. Sugar beets and rapeseed were dominant in lands owned by the Junkers, while peasant farmsteads produced linen, tobacco and potatoes in particular, as they did not require particularly rich soil while providing nutrition for people and animals, as well as raw material for brewing and starch production. The requirements of Silesian agriculture contributed to the development of the region's manufacturing industry, linked from 1819 with the production of machinery for sugar production. Agricultural machines were imported from England, but as early as in the 1830s production began in Wrocław factories owned by Gustav Heinrich Ruffer and Julius Kemna. In the latter half of the 19th century agricultural machines were also produced in smelters in Gliwice and Ozimek, iron foundries in Leszno Górne, Iława, Ossowiec, Nowa Sól and Zielona Góra. The press and agricultural fairs served to increase sales in Greater Poland, Pomerania and Eastern Prussia by integrating Silesian farmers and producers of seed in their impact on general agricultural practices in the eastern provinces of the Prussian state[87].

The integrating nature of railway and transport growth

The construction of a railway network, the need for which became apparent as early as at the beginning of the 19th century in light of the expansion of mining and metallurgy, played a key role in shaping the economic ties between Upper and

[86] S. Wysłouch, *Studia*, p. 59.

[87] Stanisław Żyga, *Postęp agrotechniczny na Śląsku w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku*, [in:] *Badania z dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych*, ed. Zbigniew Kwaśny, Wrocław 1987 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No. 801, Historia 51), p. 41.

Lower Silesia[88]. The first plans for a rail connection with the capital of the province were drawn up in 1816, but attempts at winning a concession for construction failed in Berlin, in spite of support from the State Mining Authority[89]. The 1841 creation of the Upper Silesia Railroad Joint-Stock Society was only possible after Friedrich Wilhelm IV had acceded to the throne. The opening of the first segment of the Upper Silesian railroad along the Wrocław-Oława line took place on 22nd May 1842. Work on the Opole-Gogolin and Kędzierzyn-Rudziniec segments was conducted in 1843, and the line was extended in 1847 to Mysłowice. From there, it was connected in 1847 with the Kraków-Vienna line[90], which also provided a connection to Warsaw. In Upper Silesia the Wilhelmsbahn joint-stock company constructed a rail line during the period 1844–1848 from Koźle via Racibórz to Bohumin, serving to create a connection with Vienna via Prague[91]. A Wrocław-Świdnica-Jaworzyna line was finished in 1844, but the difficult terrain meant that a connection with the Wałbrzych Basin was not completed until 1853, and then one year later with the Kłodzko region. Meanwhile, in 1847 the Berlin-Wrocław Railway Company constructed a line between Wrocław and Berlin. After construction of a secondary line to Zgorzelec, a connection was also established with Dresden and Leipzig. In turn, a connection between Opole and Tarnowskie Góry was built in 1858 by the 'Opole-Tarnowskie Góry Railway' joint-stock company, transformed in 1868 into the Odra River Right Bank Railway Society[92]. Rail connections in the southern portion of Upper Silesia were significantly expanded by the construction of sidings and dedicated lines for mines and metallurgical plants.

The railway had a beneficial impact on the Silesian economy, integrating Lower and Upper Silesia as well as the province as a whole with Berlin. It provided a boost to the growth of the mining industry, heavy manufacturing and metallurgy, and also machinery and construction. Gottfried Linke and the brothers Ernst and Johann Gottlieb Hoffman opened wagon production facilities in Wrocław in 1842. In 1843 the Berlin-Wrocław Railway Company opened repair workshops, and a year later similar facilities were launched in Legnica, Świdnica, Zgorzelec and other locations as the rail network was expanded. Rail transport of people and of goods was of significance for

[88] Detailed information on private railways constructed in Silesia until 1884 is provided by Stanisław M. Koziarski, *Komunikacja na Śląsku*, Opole 2000, pp. 59–77. See also: P. Dominas, *Kolej w prowincjach*.

[89] Marian Jerczyński, Stanisław Koziarski, *150 lat kolei na Śląsku*, Opole 1992, pp. 49–53, 80, 93–94.

[90] S.M. Koziarski, *Komunikacja*, p. 59.

[91] M. Jerczyński, S.M. Koziarski, *150 lat kolei*, p. 86.

[92] Stanisław M. Koziarski, *Rozwój sieci kolejowej na Śląsku*, Opole 1990, p. 21.

integration, evidenced in the formation of regional consciousness as it served to intensify socio-economic contact as well as personal mobility. At the same time, expansion of the railway network gave a strong boost to the province's trade, both internal and external. It also significantly expanded the market for Upper Silesian coal, enabling its widespread use as a fuel. Overseas exports of zinc from Szczecin and Hamburg increased, while both flour and grain were sent to England[93].

The increase in mass transport led provincial authorities to engage in regulation of the Odra river, planned for 18439–1846. However, the dramatic economic situation of Silesia resulting from natural disasters led to that work being halted in 1844. It was not resumed later, as rail was felt to be a more convenient method of transporting goods than by water routes. This led to a decline in the importance of the Kłodnicki Canal[94].

Events during the Spring of Nations and their disintegrating socio-economic effects

Failures of grain and potato crops led to an economic crisis in 1844 in Silesia, first signalled by the weavers' uprising in the Sudeten Foothills. The crisis was deepened by Austria's annexation of Kraków, where, following the failure of the Kraków Uprising in 1846, trade with Wrocław and many other Silesian cities was halted. Two floods in 1846–1847 led to hunger and riots in cities. In Upper Silesia, an epidemic of typhus at the turn of 1847–1848 led to 80,000 people falling ill, of which 16,000 died, primarily in the Rybnik and Pszczyna counties[95]. In these circumstances, news about the revolutionary events taking place in France during February 1848, which reached Wrocław on 6th March, provoked a spirited demonstration of solidarity which was brutally broken up by the army. Another army attack took place on 16th March, against protesters expressing joy at the news of the successful revolution in Berlin. Peasant revolts began on 22nd March in the Jelenia Góra county and others around Lower Silesia, as well as in Upper Silesia, where disturbances occurred in Bytom, Mikołów and Gliwice[96]. Serfs in many estates

[93] Z. Kwaśny, *Rozwój przemysłu na Górnym Śląsku*, pp. 186–187.

[94] Aleksander Born, *Regulacja Odry i rozbudowa urządzeń technicznych*, [in:] *Monografia Odry*, eds Andrzej Grodek, Maria Kiełczewska-Zaleska, August Zierhoffer, Poznań 1948, p. 468; *Oder – Odra: Blicke auf einen europäischen Strom*, eds Karl Schlogel, Beata Halicka, Frankfurt a. Mein 2008.

[95] *Historia Górnego Śląska. Polityka, gospodarka i kultura europejskiego regionu,* eds Joachim Bahlcke, Dan Gawrecki, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Gliwice 2011, p. 193.

[96] Kazimierz Popiołek, *Polska Wiosna Ludów na Górnym Śląsku*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 3 (1948), No. 1, p. 53.

demanded that the landlords formally renounce the *corvee* and all forms of monetary consideration[97]. In spite of the army's attempts at pacification, the countryside remained in revolt and suspended the payment of its obligations and the performance of work for dominions. Calm was restored in April following the announcement of agrarian reforms which were to come from the National Assembly in Berlin, with primaries and elections scheduled for 1st and 8th May.

The authorities' failure to take a quick decision concerning the cancellation of feudal burdens reinforced the mutinous mood in the countryside. In September, the first mass peasant organisation in Silesia was founded as the Peasants' Association (*Rustical-Verein*). Owing to the firmness, the government adopted a statute which ended the patrimonial court system, hunting privileges and other feudal remnants from 1st January 1849. The most important act was the new Regulation and Recalculation Act of 2nd March 1850, which granted all categories of farmsteads enfranchisement and eliminated obligations towards landowners. This was more favourable to the peasants than previous regulations, but still provided for damages to be paid to landlords[98]. To calm the peasantry, obligations for damages were assumed by annuity banks under the control of provincial General Commissions. The decades-long process of top-down peasant enfranchisement came to an end with the liquidation of the feudal system in Silesian agriculture. It no longer served to block the region's further industrialization, allowing the countryside to assume the mantle of producer of food and raw industrial materials, as well as a reservoir of labour.

The Silesian province in integration with the Prussian state (through 1870) – symptoms of disintegration of regional ties

The Silesian economy entered a period of economic growth following the eruption of the Crimean War in the spring of 1853, which brought an increase in trade with Russia, at war with Turkey and supported by France and England. This provided impetus to construct a rail connection with Poznań, which was linked with Wrocław in 1856. This was indispensable owing to the expansion of the province's trade in the eastern provinces Prussia, particularly from Upper Silesia, which provided 80% of Greater Poland's needs for coal and metallurgy products. After the conclusion of the Crimean War, in 1857 the iron ore and coal mining industry was beset by crisis, yet the most deeply affected was metallurgy[99]. During the years 1860–1865, as the

[97] J. Sydor, *Wiosna Ludów*, p. 44.

[98] *Historia chłopów polskich,* pp. 77–78.

[99] Heinrich Rosenberg, *Die Weltwirtschaftskrisis vom 1857-1859*, Stuttgart–Berlin 1943, p. 103.

crisis eased, the directorial principal was lifted, which meant that private mining activities were freed of interference by state authorities. In 1868 work was competed on the construction of the 'Odra Right Bank Railway' (*Rechte-Ufer-Eisebahn*), connecting Wrocław with Upper Silesia via Kluczbork-Lubliniec-Tarnowskie Góry. The binding of the Prussian provinces by transport lines proved invaluable during a period in which Prussia engaged in the mobilisation of soldiers and organised military supply transports for three wars conducted in 1864 (with Denmark), 1866 (with Austria) and with France in 1870–1871.

The economy received a strong boost, and annual production of rock coal in Upper Silesia grew from 975,000 tonnes in 1850 to 5,800,000 in 1870. It far surpassed production in the Wałbrzych Basin, which extracted a mere 1,570,000 tonnes in 1870. Equally strong growth was recorded in Upper Silesian iron metallurgy, going from 30,000 tonnes of raw material produced in 1850 to 218,000 tonnes in 1870. Upper Silesia became a true giant in zinc production, which grew to 42,000 tonnes in 1867, constituting 75% of production in Prussia and 45% of total world production. In spite of these accomplishments, Upper Silesian technical and technological resources, particularly machines, lagged behind the Ruhr and Saar Valleys incorporated into Prussia in 1815[100]. As late as 1861, 52% of Upper Silesian raw materials came from large furnaces using charcoal, whiles in 1852 over 60% of material in Westphalia came from coke ovens. It was not until 1862 that puddling ovens in the largest Upper Silesian production facilities (*Huta Królewska*, *Pokój*) were converted to Siemens-Martin furnaces, with the Thomas production system later added. The industrial revolution brought the first signs of capitalist concentration – horizontal and vertical – to Upper Silesia. In the former type of concentration, enterprises with similar production profiles merged with each other, such as *Huta Królewska* in Chorzów and the *Laura* metallurgical works in Siemianowice (*Vereinigte Königs- und Laurahütte A.G.*). The process of vertical concentration brought together various industries comprising the entire production process, one example of which was the Upper Silesian Association of Mining and Metallurgical Industrialists (1854).

The upturn was also of benefit to agriculture, as industrialization and urbanization created particularly favourable conditions for animal husbandry and grain production by well-off peasants with larger estates. Increased commercialism of the agricultural sector led to expansion of the internal market and growth of individual incomes, which in turn facilitated the purchase of farm machines and artificial fertiliser. This led to significant surplus production in the space of a few short years: potato production tripled, oats quadrupled, and barley volume increased five-fold. The

[100] K. Popiołek, *Górnośląski przemysł*, p. 55.

profitability of sheep and cattle production also continued to grow. However, provincial statistics from 1858 show that out of 284,073 farmsteads, micro-farms of up to 1.25 ha comprised a dominating 42.6% of the total, with small farms of 1.26 – 7.5 ha accounting for 38.6%[101]. In total, as many as 81.2% of farmsteads were insufficient to ensure the welfare of a peasant family, which resulted from the loss of land owing to sale of a portion in the course of enfranchisement, or at times related to feudal rents and state taxes. Owners of these farmsteads were forced to seek paid labour, which led to the disintegration of local communities. Initially they made their way to nearby cities, then later to regional industrial hubs. The outflow of people from Silesia remained relatively low, but there were some mass migrations in 1854–1856 and 1869–1870 to North America and Brazil[102].

In summarising the general contour of socio-economic processes in the years 1816–1870 discussed here it should be noted that the 'top-down' revolution of Stein-Hardenberg[103] primarily benefited the urban bourgeoisie, who were in the main satisfied with the possibilities for economic engagement, integrating with the rest of the province. However, in the course of industrialization, the bourgeoisie became convinced of the necessity to engage in the struggle for constitutional rights, the elimination of the nobility as an estate and the acquisition of civil freedoms. It joined the political struggle taking place during the Spring of Nations which led to significant political changes. Yet the most significant breakthrough occurred in the social condition of peasants. They took part for the first time in an electoral campaign in 1848, successfully working together with the intelligentsia and democratic bourgeoisie to complete the process of peasant enfranchisement. After 1850 the significance of this issue declined, but the peasantry remained interested in the public affairs of Silesia and Prussia, which was associated in part with expanded agricultural education. During the three successful wars conducted by Prussia in 1864–1871, in which the rural population fought, they displayed regional awareness and a feeling of indigenousness as Silesians or Upper Silesians. They adopted a positive attitude towards the state, which meant that its activities in the agrarian sector were appreciated and led to changes in peasant attitudes. Poles arriving from the Congress Kingdom (journalists and folk culture scholars) quickly came to understand this, noting in their observations that the peasant population had adopted an attitude of Silesian distinctness as well as displaying an attitude of Prussian patriotism, describing themselves as

[101] *Historia chłopów śląskich*, p. 242.

[102] *Dzieje Górnego Śląska w latach 1816-1947*, ed. Franciszek Hawranek, Opole 1981, pp. 141, 157.

[103] T. Nipperdey, *Problem*, p. 76.

'subjects of the Prussian king'[104]. These processes foreshadowed the weakening of Silesian identity and feelings of regional distinctness in favour of Prussian or German identity.

3. The Silesian province in the German Reich (1871-1918)

New disintegrating threats following the creation of the German Reich

Silesians, similarly to the inhabitants of other Prussian provinces, greeted the unification of Germany in 1871 with patriotic demonstrations, viewing it as the fulfilment of years of expectation and the harbinger of the emergence of a large, strong state under Prussian hegemony[105]. However, it was only after the Reich had been born that Berlin's favouritism towards Westphalia and the Rhineland became visible, as Silesia benefited to a lesser degree from the war reparations collected from France, which led to a single currency being introduced from the entire state and to greater concentration of investment[106]. The emergence of the Reich occurred during an economic upturn, but from 1873 until as late as 1887 Silesian heavy industry struggled with a crisis that hastened its concentration[107]. In 1870, there were 109 mines in the Upper Silesian Basin employing 23,744 workers producing 5,854,403 tonnes of coal; in 1900, the number of coal mines had been reduced to 63, but they employed a total of 60,147 workers and produced 24,815,044 tonnes of coal. A similar process of concentration occurred in the iron metallurgy industry, which was home to 31 smelters, but by 1900 this number dropped to 13; nevertheless, production jumped threefold from 230,576 to 747,163 tonnes. However, production costs also grew as a result of the exhaustion of local ore deposits and import of ore from Sweden, Norway, the Congress Kingdom of Poland, the Donbass and Hungary[108]. Depleted calamine reserves impacted zinc metallurgy, and it was only the smelting of blends that allowed for a threefold jump in zinc production to 102,000 tonnes in 1900. Progress in metallurgy was marked by the extinguishing of the last charcoal-fired furnace

[104] Teresa Kulak, *Wizerunek Ślązaka w polskich opisach etnograficznych i relacjach z podróży po Śląsku w II połowie XIX w.*, [in:] *Wokół stereotypów Niemców i Polaków,* ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 1993, p. 106.

[105] J. Wąsicki, *Związek*, pp. 372, 405.

[106] Stanisław Michalkiewicz, *Struktura śląskiego proletariatu przemysłowego w latach 1849-1875*, Wrocław 1970 (='Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska', vol. 10), pp. 8–9.

[107] K. Popiołek, *Górnośląski przemysł*, p. 61.

[108] Irena Pietrzak-Pawłowska, *Przewrót przemysłowy i warunki kapitalistycznej industrializacji na ziemiach polskich do 1918 r.*, [in:] *Uprzemysłowienie ziem polskich w XIX i XX w. Studia i materiały*, Wrocław 1970, pp. 57–103.

in 1911, while the number of puddling furnaces dropped from 320 in 1889 to 195 in 1906.

The concentration of production was accompanied by the amalgamation of production facilities in companies and joint-stock societies, such as the *Pokój* smelting company (*Oberschlesische Eisenbahn-Bedarfs A.G. Friedenshütte*) and the Upper Silesian Ferrous Metals Industrial Company for Mining and Metallurgy (*Oberschlesische Eisenindustrie A.G. für Bergbau und Hüttenbetrieb*). Cartels of producers also formed for the common regulation of sales volumes and market prices[109]. The Association of Upper Silesian Rolling Mills was a prime example: following its entry into the German Rolling Mills Union in 1887, it received a share of the market within Germany. A similar goal was behind the creation of the Upper Silesian Coal Conference in 1898, whose entry into German-wide structures facilitated the destruction of trade barriers erected for Upper Silesian coal by western industrial interests. Accession to monopolist structures frequently required that Upper Silesian mines and smelters abandon their own regional brands and shed their market identity. Nevertheless, what was important was to acquire markets in central and western Germany. Internal transport costs of state rail operators constituted a barrier, who succumbed to pressure from industrialists in the west to raise prices so high as to make the transport of goods from Upper Silesia and Wrocław unprofitable. Silesia's economic situation was justified by *Absatzferne i Verkehrsferne*[110], signifying its deleterious 'drifting away' from markets located in the heart of Germany and indicating its 'peripheral' position. State authorities did not engage in any corrective measures, which served to highlight the favouritism shown to industrialists from the Rhine Valley and Westphalia[111]. This led to the ferment of dissatisfaction in Silesia, as the role of monopolist societies in the economic life of Germany grew, and their function was to limit production volumes and dictate prices. This situation brought the regional specificities of Silesia to light, and the visible conflict of interests within the Reich had a destructive influence.

In these circumstances, internal economic ties within Silesia were strengthened, and efforts to sell products in the eastern provinces of the Prussian state intensified. Trade treaties concluded in 1891 and 1894 with Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire provided a significant opportunity by opening markets within the Congress Kingdom of Poland as well as Austria, Czech lands and Hungary

[109] Franciszek Biały, *Górnośląski Związek Przemysłowców Górniczo-Hutniczych. Z dziejów kapitalizmu monopolistycznego na Śląsku*, Katowice 1963, pp. 32–33.

[110] J. Kokot, *Polityka*, p. 148.

[111] K. Popiołek, *Górnośląski przemysł*, p. 197; S. Michalkiewicz, *Struktura*, pp. 8–9.

to Silesian products. Regional trade was boosted by the different patterns of economic growth in the Wrocław and Legnica regencies. In Upper Silesia, as early as 1875 the industrial proletariat constituted 66.7% of the total working class, while a mere 16.7% of labourers were employed in Lower Silesian heavy industry (mining, machinery and metallurgy, mineral raw materials) according to the professional census of 1882. This was a large difference, although Wrocław led the province in industrialization with its monopoly on the production and renovation of rolling stock (1911 saw the creation of the *Linke-Hofmann-Werke* combine), production of *Borsig* aviation engines as well as motorcycles and tractors. The Lower Silesian agricultural machine production industry continued to play an important role, with the close of the 19th century seeking a shift from steam to fuel oil and electrical power[112]. The lead in both production volume and employment was taken by light industry, where nearly 52% of all those employed in industry in Lower Silesia worked, primarily in the textile and clothing branch. Ready-to-wear products popular in Germany were produced in Legnica, Świdnica, Świebodzice, Zgorzelec and Wrocław. Fur and leather clothing were the domain of Nowa Sól and Chojnów, while Oleśnica and Kamienna Góra were home to shoe production, and leather accessories were made in Świdnica and Legnica. Lower Silesian farmers and tanneries cooperated with dyeworks and leatherworks to provide them with materials for production. It can be said that the light industry of Lower Silesia and the heavy industry of Upper Silesia were complementary in nature, and this served to cement the region's economic cohesion. There was also no conflict between the interests of Upper Silesia and the Wałbrzych–Nowa Ruda Basin considering the latter's limited production capacity, as well as the fact that its primary markets consisted of the north-western portion of Lower Silesia, Brandenburg and Lusatia[113].

The integrating significance of agriculture in the provincial market economy

After the creation of the German Reich, the position of agriculture became very difficult as grain exports to the United Kingdom were halted due to an influx of cheap American products, and Australian wool destabilised demand for its Silesian counterpart. A crisis of surplus production led to drastic declines in prices of agricultural products and had a particularly dramatic impact on large estates engaged in industrial production. Farm-heavy counties experienced stagnation and the number of small farmsteads up to 5 ha of land dropped as their owners,

[112] For more information, see: S. Żyga, *Postęp*, p. 47.
[113] K. Popiołek, *Górnośląski przemysł*, pp. 198–199.

discouraged by the crisis, sold their land and moved to cities. As a result of this process, only 5% of total arable land belonged to farmsteads of up to 5 ha. A beneficial structure of peasant ownership also developed, as farmsteads measuring 5–10 ha accounted for around 12%, nearly 38% contained between 10 and 100 ha, while as much as 45% had over 100 ha[114].

The gradual return of economic growth just prior to the turn of the 20th century brought to Silesia visible innovation in management of farmsteads and landed estates, with large holdings and farms in excess of 20 ha dominating. Profitability of agricultural production was boosted through mechanisation and fertilisation, as well as owing to scientific selection of cattle for breeding and particular plant species, frequently given the adjective 'Silesian' or named after the Silesian town where they created, and at times given the surname of their discoverers[115]. Farmers made extensive use of agrotechnical knowledge which was spread through the press, educational efforts and exhibitions by agricultural clubs under the wing of the Silesian Agricultural Chamber formed in 1896. This organisation cooperated closely with various wings of the food production industry, itself concentrating 14.3% of all those employed. The leading segments were sugar refining and grain production, which were key in the development of the food processing industry, including that of brewing, as well as of milling, which provided significant income from flour exports. Land around the cities was reserved for gardening and vegetable production for both the local and regional markets, primarily Upper Silesia and Berlin. The Legnica region evolved into a true 'vegetable basin', while at the same time fruit and vegetable production expanded in Ziębice, Wrocław and Świdnica, as well as in the counties of Zielona Góra, Racibórz and Koźle. Hope for further growth in production was raised with the expansion of the canning industry[116], which also provided a boost to production of livestock for slaughter.

A large role in the modernised peasant economy was played by the cooperative movement, dominated by three Silesian central organisations: the Union of Silesian Agricultural Cooperatives, the Provincial Union of Silesian Agricultural Cooperatives and the Raiffeisen Union of Agricultural Cooperatives. They engaged in large-group scale purchases of machines, fodder, seeds and artificial fertiliser for farmers, as well as buying crops from them. Agricultural companies associated in farming and husbandry cooperatives in order to invest in mills and brickworks,

[114] *Historia chłopów śląskich,* p. 247.

[115] S. Żyga, *Postęp*, pp. 27–50.

[116] Wincenty Styś, *Rolnictwo na Dolnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Oblicze Ziem Odzyskanych*, vol. 1: *Przyroda. Gospodarka,* ed. Ewa Maleczyńska, Wrocław–Warszawa 1948, pp. 272–274.

as well as melioration of land and electrification of rural settlements. In 1910, Silesian cooperatives had a total of 235,864 members integrated with a view to both the interests of their individual farms as well as the growth of provincial agriculture. The region's farm industry was profitable, and the achievements of the region were recognised across Prussia and the Reich. It helped determine the province's economic significance, serving to meet the needs of its residents as well as internal cohesion and economic integration of the whole region.

Ostflucht. The disintegrating weakness of the Silesian provinces' demographic potential

In 1910, a census placed the Silesian population at 5,225,692, with the rural population accounting for 3,407,400 and a growth of 39.9% since 1849. In some regions of Upper Silesia and sub-Sudetes counties this led to a relative overpopulation of rural communities, particularly of those with no farms or small farms. The search for employment led many of them to the cities (a phenomenon labelled *Landflucht*), leading to a growth in the province's urban population from 20% in the middle of the 19th century to 38.4% in 1910.[117] At the same time, between 1840 and 1870 a total of 97,852 residents emigrated from Silesia, with 23,488 of them from the Opole regency and 74,364 from the Legnica regency, while a mere 1798 people immigrated to the Wrocław regency. Wrocław did boast a population of 512,105 residents, but it did not offer particularly attractive wages. The difference between the annual average wage of workers in Wrocław and Dortmund, to take one example, was as great as 448 marks[118]. Employment was sought in many of the Reich's industrial centres, primarily Berlin, Brandenburg and Saxony. After 1871 these migrations evolved into a 'flight' from the eastern rural provinces, given the name *Ostflucht*[119]. Population losses in Silesia during the period 1871–1910 amounted to 591,502 people, of which 39.8% came from the Opole regency, 35.4% from the Wrocław regency and 24.7% from the Legnica regency[120]. Immigration to Silesia did not fully compensate for these losses, although the census of 1907 did record 316,955 people born outside the province's borders.

[117] For the source of data, see: *Historia Śląska*, vol. 3, part 1, pp. 24–25.

[118] Teresa Kulak, *Metropolia czy tylko stolica prusko-niemieckiej prowincji? Spojrzenie na Wrocław na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 56 (1999), No. 3, pp. 285–298.

[119] Andrzej Brożek, *Ostflucht na Śląsku*, Katowice 1966, pp. 48–61.

[120] Heinz Rogmann, *Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung im preußischen Osten in den letzten hundert Jahren*, Breslau 1936, pp. 246–247.

The *Ostflucht* was most strongly felt in the eastern portion of the province at the border with Greater Poland, in the Namysłów, Syców, Milicz, Góra Śląska and Wołów counties where population density fell to 30–50 people per km^2. All of them were agrarian in nature with a difficult structure of land ownership, with a majority of holdings consisting of large landed estates on the one hand, and small farmsteads of up to 10 ha and poor soil on the other[121]. These small plots were insufficient to ensure the livelihood of peasant households, and the absence of industry made finding employment impossible. Farm employees working at large estates were paid starvation wages, and the fight to improve them was restricted by the seasonal influx of inexpensive labourers from Galicia and the Congress Kingdom. This led to strong aversion towards them[122], which was a detrimental phenomenon similar to *Ostflucht*. It weakened the region's demographic potential, leading to the permanent destruction of the emigrants' bonds with Silesia.

Internal integration of the province resulting from modernization of communication and transport

After the unification of Germany, Silesian internal transport links experienced further growth resulting from the increasing concentration of railway lines through the construction of branches from the main lines as well as the initiation of new regional and local connections for both passenger and commercial traffic. By the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the Silesian rail network had essentially been formed[123], and was also linked with the partially canalised waterway. A dense system of internal connections of various importance was created in the industrialised area, from international routes to 'steam trams' connecting the cities of the coal basin. The Sudetes weaving and mining regions were linked by the Silesian Mountain Line[124], and new connections around the Sudeten Foothills helped expand tourism and increase the influx of those seeking treatment to Sudetes- and Kłodzko-area health resorts[125]. The electrification of Silesia undertaken at the close of the 19th

[121] This is discussed at length in: S. Wysłouch, *Studia*, pp. 218–229.

[122] *Ibidem,* pp. 238, 248–249.

[123] Marek Czapliński, *Śląsk w 2. połowie XIX w. i na początku XX w*., [in:] *Historia Śląska*, ed. Marek Czapliński, p. 307.

[124] Przemysław Dominas, *Koleją z Kłodzka do Wałbrzycha*, Wrocław 2004, pp. 17, 22–23.

[125] Tomasz Przerwa, *Odkryli dla nas piękno gór. Trzy sudeckie organizacje górskie 1881-1945: Verband der Gebirgsvereine an der Eule, Waldenburger Gebirgsverein, Gebirgsverein Zobtengebirge*, Toruń 203, pp. 381–394.

century enabled the construction of tram lines in cities beginning in 1893, as well as plans for the electrification of railway lines[126].

The state took over the construction and management of railway lines, and during the period 1884–1904 it engaged in the successive purchase of lines. It did not discourage the construction of local private lines, both standard and narrow gauge. These were felt to serve as a factor boosting regional economic activity as well as the rapid and inexpensive transport of goods and people.

Within counties, narrow-gauge lines were built to link lumber yards, dairies, sugar factories and other facilities engaged in processing industrial plant crops. They were also used to transport fuel and construction materials for use by local communities. Not only were they a compliment to publically owned railways, but they additionally served to stimulate local production and trade in goods. They also fused the region economically, which was of particular interest to local authorities[127].

Economic destabilisation of the Silesian province during World War I and the War Command Economy Act (1914–1918)

Silesian society viewed the potential outbreak of war in 1914 with overwhelming approval, but the general mobilisation of 2nd August led to a collapse in the province's economic life. Rail and water transport taken over by the army made it impossible to supply the market with food and fuel, and also halted deliveries of other raw materials and industrial products[128]. Following the Reich Council's promulgation on 4 August of the *War Command Economy Act*, all decisions concerning economic matters became the domain of military authorities[129].

In light of the widespread conviction that the war would be over quickly (*Blitzkrieg*), the Silesian civil authorities and society as a whole were not properly prepared for it. The mobilisation in Silesia encompassed 20–25% of men (versus 5–6% in the west of Germany)[130] and it was not adapted to the economic specificities of the province. The mobilisation touched primarily miners, peasants and agricultural labourers employed in areas of production important to the war economy, while the

[126] S.M. Koziarski, *Rozwój*, p. 36.

[127] Cf.: Janusz Gołaszewski, *Dzieje linii kolejowej z Wrocławia Psiego Pola do Trzebnicy (1886-1945)*, 'Rocznik Wrocławski', 9 (2004), pp. 217–236.

[128] Only after 2 weeks of the war did Wrocław, with its 500,000 inhabitants, obtain a certain number of carriages from the army to transport food and other required supplies (in particular coal). Cf. Romuald Gelles, *Gospodarka Wrocławia w latach I wojny światowej*, 'Studia Śląskie', 28 (1975), pp. 74–111.

[129] Edward Nabiel, *Gospodarka wojenna Niemiec 1914–1918*, Warszawa 1959, pp. 26–27.

[130] E. Mendel, *Polacy na Górnym Śląsku*, p. 55.

army should have drafted in workers from light industry. Lower Silesian agriculture was dealt a blow, as the war erupted during the harvest season and there were no horses available for urgent field work as they had been appropriated by the army and taken from peasant households and large manors[131]. There was also a lack of hands in the field, as following the outbreak of the war military authorities ordered seasonal labourers from the Congress Kingdom to be expelled from Lower Silesia due to the fact of their being Russian subjects. Employment in Upper Silesia initially fell by 22%, causing a dramatic drop in production volume in coal and zinc ore mining as well as in iron and steel metallurgy, but by 1915 Upper Silesia had already begun to feel the impact of a wartime boom. After the Kingdom had been occupied it became possible to exploit its labour force, and the seizure of reserves and materials belonging to smelters in the Śląsko-Dąbrowski Basin was sufficient to cover 16% of supplies for Upper Silesian metallurgy[132]. The situation in Lower Silesia presented itself differently, as mines in the Wałbrzych–Nowa Ruda Basin were deprived of around 30% of their workforce. Employment of prisoners, women, youths and foreign workers, primarily from the Kingdom, was no substitute for the efficiency of qualified minders and pit workers, of which there were estimated to be 7,000 too few in 1916.

Military authorities decided to close down factories whose output was considered dispensable to the war effort. This led to the unemployment of thousands in Lower Silesia's artisan industries including clothing, textiles and woodwork. Women from the clothing industry, particularly in Wrocław, found themselves in an exceptionally difficult situation due to tragically overwhelming unemployment levels[133]. Only a small number of them were employed by the army, doing such jobs as sewing uniforms, producing 'soldiers' cigarettes' and fashioning cavalry saddles, coats and boots. A wartime boom was experienced by metallurgical and machining facilities, iron smelters and wagon factories, which adapted their production profiles to meet the needs of the front, manufacturing parts for submarines, airplanes and tanks. The construction and timber industry in the Legnica regency, threatened with extinction, won orders to produce military barracks and housing for prisoners. Meanwhile, furniture factories produced wooden parts for machine guns and grenades alongside boxes for transporting ammunition. Various

[131] Teresa Kulak, Wojciech Mrozowicz, *Syców i okolice od czasów najdawniejszych po współczesność,* Wrocław–Syców 2000, p. 124.

[132] Kazimierz Popiołek, *Zaborcze plany kapitalistów śląskich*, Katowice–Wrocław 1947, p. 25.

[133] In 1916, 64,199 women and 29,379 men were unemployed in Wrocław. Cf. Romuald Gelles, *Położenie materialne ludności Wrocławia w latach I wojny światowej*, 'Studia Śląskie', 34 (1978), p. 245, tab. 1.

elements of armaments were produced by agricultural machine factories. However, the countryside was deprived of machines and spare parts, which was problematic in light of the high level of mechanisation that characterised Silesian agriculture and of the scarcity of labour. The harvest in Lower Silesia during the first year of the war was one-third smaller than in 1913, while production of sugar in the Opole region dropped to 60% of pre-war levels. The amount of land actively farmed and livestock numbers also declined successively[134] .

In spite of everyday hardships and destabilisation of the province's economic life, society managed to retain the 'internal peace' declared by the Reich's rulers at the beginning of the war. This was attested to by new decisions published concerning state direction of the war economy in the Reich, as well as the 1916 appointment of the Fatherland Assistance Corps. It centralised management of the economy and labour force in cities where Fatherland Assistance Corps Recruitment Offices were established. Work for unemployed men was arranged in rock coal mines across Upper Silesia and building fortifications in Eastern Prussia. Some women were directed to forced labour in agriculture and were taken to landed estates where Polish seasonal workers had been previously employed. During the first year of the war the number of women employed in what were previously 'masculine' sectors of the economy increased, including in the mining and armaments industries. In Upper Silesia, around 25,000 labourers from the Congress Kingdom found employment in 1917. The war also led to the mass employment of prisoners, with over 100,000 of them working in mines across Lower and Upper Silesia during the final phase of hostilities.[135]

In Upper Silesia, the extraction of coal in 1916 reached 107.2% of pre-war levels; new investments were also undertaken, but signs of social unrest began to appear, primarily in connection with wages. In 1916, a total of fifty-five strikes were organised in Wrocław, while 1917 saw 129 of them. Food riots took place in 1916 in Katowice alongside strikes in forty-six factories from across the entire basin, and in 1917 the intensity of strikes as a result of foot shortages increased, leading to the emergence of a black market[136]. Wartime 'hunger management' across Silesia went through several phases; initially it was a call to a general thriftiness, and a policy of balancing supply and demand through price hikes. Rationing appeared in January 1915 with the introduction of coupons for bread and flour, later

[134] *Historia chłopów śląskich,* p. 265.

[135] Romuald Gelles, Jerzy Pabisz, *Materiały do położenia klasy robotniczej na Śląsku w latach 1914-1917*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 10 (1979), p. 251–293.

[136] E. Mendel, *Polacy na Górnym Śląsku*, p. 205.

for fats and milk and some industrial items such as soap and washing powder. In 1916, the rationing system encompassed cloth and clothing, as well as shoes and underwear[137]. Rationing of coal, petrol, coke, gas and electricity proved very difficult for society in the winter of 1916–1917, which was referred to as the 'starvation winter' or the 'swede winter'. In the countryside the situation with food was better, but grain and potatoes were subject to quotas on deliveries beginning in 1915, while the civilian population was left with a carefully calculated and small amount of food for itself and for animals. The absence of potatoes made it impossible to maintain individual pig farms, whose slaughter was kept under strict control. From 1916, groups conducting requisitions of crops visited farmsteads in the countryside that had failed to meet their obligations on time. War propaganda mobilised society to make patriotic sacrifices and 'voluntary' gifts to soldiers at the front, to engage in collecting non-ferrous scrap metal and to participate in financing internal state loans, nine of which were conducted during the war.

Considering the omnipotence of military power in wartime conditions and the top-down command economy, it would be difficult to speak of Silesia's regional specificity. The feeling of a shared fate encompassing the entire Reich was attested to by residents of Silesia participating in a Germany-wide strike against the war in January 1918, during which over a million workers downed tools[138]. They shared anti-war sentiment resulting from the loss of loved ones at the front, a lack of heating fuel and food and exhaustion with the continuing war. Industrial circles in Upper Silesia did not experience these same problems, as during the war years heavy industry expanded markets and significantly increased both production and employment numbers; this led in turn to the reanimation of plans for constructing new waterways, including an Odra-Danube canal[139]. The situation in Lower Silesia evolved differently, where placing the economy on a wartime footing led to catastrophic losses in all sectors of the sub-region's economy, with a collapse in the productive capacity of what was previously a profitable agriculture and livestock sector.

Summary

An analysis of the integrating and disintegrating factors impacting the Silesian economy and in socio-economic processes (from the mid-19th century until 1918)

[137] Compiled based on 'Breslauer Gemeinde-Blatt' from 1915–1918.

[138] Władysław Czapliński, Adam Galos, Wacław Korta, *Historia Niemiec*, Wrocław 1981, p. 669.

[139] K. Jońca, *Projekty budowy*, pp. 181–186.

was conducted in reference to three chronological periods reflecting the socio-political epochs characterising the history of Prussia and the German Reich. In the first, during the period 1741–1815, Silesians (apart from the upper levels of society) as late as 1808 failed to develop any bonds with the Hohenzollern dynasty owing to a burdensome fiscalism and absolutist governments. It was only after a certain liberalisation of the system and reforms during the Napoleonic era that their attitudes towards the king and the monarchy underwent a change during the war of liberation, following which Silesia underwent a transformation from an estate-feudal economy to a proto-industrial one. However, a later slowing of internal reforms led the bourgeoisie and peasantry to fight during the 1848 Spring of Nations for a constitution and for the elimination of remnants of feudalism in agriculture. In 1850, some changes in the political order were achieved and the enfranchisement of the peasantry completed. Silesians achieved the fullest integration with Prussia during their three victorious wars in the years 1864–1871 and during the unification of Germany, which were accompanied by economic growth. It seemed at the time that a weakening of the feeling of Silesian regional distinctness would occur, in favour of a more national identity. However, the later crisis of agriculture and industry, particularly the struggle over markets for Silesian products in the Reich, dampened these moods. Economic ties within the Silesian province were solidified, while expansion into the markets of the eastern Prussian provinces was undertaken.

The development of rail and water transport gave a boost to economic ties within the province, as did the different areas of economic potential in its sub-regions. The Upper Silesian mining and metallurgical industries did not impose restrictions on production in Lower Silesia, which was primarily agricultural in nature, along with light industry and machinery. For Upper Silesia, its sister sub-region was a valued market and source of food production. World War I damaged the cohesion and complementary relations of the two sub-regions' economies, with the main factor being the War Command Economy Act and restrictions on trade. During the war Lower Silesia incurred heavy losses and retarded growth, while Upper Silesia took advantage of the wartime jump in demand for coal and products of heavy industry. This led to Upper Silesian political and economic circles positing a loosening of the provincial bonds between Upper and Lower Silesia, and even attempting to achieve a limited level of political independence (*Nebenstaat*)[140]. This postulate was presented as a tactical measure following the November Revolution

[140] Edmund Klein, *Śląskie koncepcje separatystyczne (listopad 1918 - kwiecień 1919*), 'Studia Śląskie', 23 (1978), pp. 27–65; more detailed information in: Günther Doose, *Die separatistische Bewegung in Oberschlesien nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg (1818-1922)*, Wiesbaden 1987.

in Germany and the creation of an independent Polish state. Silesian unity was fiercely protected by the authorities in Wrocław, permitting a separation of the province – achieved by way of a resolution of the Prussian Assembly on 14th October 1919 – only for the purposes of a plebiscite. They protested strongly[141] while Upper Silesians accepted the executive act of 25th July 1923 on the division of the province into Lower and Upper Silesia. The effects of World War I proved to be long-term disintegrating factors, impacting first the Silesian economy, and then the entirety of the Silesia region and its residents.

[141] Teresa Kulak *Walka o jedność Śląska*, [in:] *eadem*, *Polityka antypolska dolnośląskich władz prowincjonalnych w latach 1922-1933*, Wrocław 1981, pp. 22–30.

Wanda Musialik, Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers
Opole University of Technology

Analysis of integrative and destructive forces among social groups in Silesia in the Prussian period (1740–1918)

Abstract:

Silesia was taken over by Prussia before the end of the time of social class division of society. Among the factors forming class and regional distinctness are external processes stemming from a change in state leadership, the effects of Napoleonic Wars as well the results of the evolution of the economic system. The abolishment of the guild system at the beginning of the 19th century and the affranchisement of the peasants became a catalyst for a process of change to capitalism. Differing behaviours of the clergy and nobility were a sign of protest against limitations on their privileges. As the Prussian authority increased these social groups were included in adjustment processes, which was also the intention of the Prussian administration. The Silesian society, which accepted the German identity slowly started to emphasize the importance of regional origins. The elites of Poland influenced this process. Their actions, intended to win over the Silesian people who were using in everyday life a Slavic dialect and influence them to choose the Polish national identity led to viewpoints opposed to mainstream Prussian policies. The attitude of Galician immigrants were an obstacle, as they were mostly illiterate and had difficulties adjusting to local conditions. Polish immigration in Cieszyn Silesia and their economic expansion enhanced regional ambition of the local population, accentuating their Silesian separateness.

Keywords:

Silesia, social classes, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, *Kulturkampf,* language.

Silesia was annexed by Prussia at the height of feudalism, at which point the society was divided into classes, which in turn were subdivided further[1]. At the end of the 18th century, three social classes were prominent: the nobility and aristocracy (*Nobiles*), the middle class (*Bürgerthum*) and the lower class (*Volk*). Citizens were composed of city right-holders and academics (educated class), which included the clergy. At the beginning of the 19th century, the gap between the newly formed middle class and the lower classes began to widen. Middle-class status could be achieved through a person's economic standing or a symbolic indicator (such as

[1] S. Salmonowicz, *Fryderyk II*, pp. 140–142; *idem*, *Prusy*, p. 168. See also: Marek Czapliński, *Skowroński Aleksander*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny katolickiego duchowieństwa śląskiego XIX i XX wieku,* ed. Mieczysław Pater, Katowice 1996, pp. 379–380.

being a teacher)[2]. This process first became noticeable in the western parts of Silesia but later moved gradually to its eastern borders. It did not become noticeable in Opole until the second half of the 19th century, however.

Although the official abolition of the guild system in the first decade of the 19th century and the subsequent fifty years of serfdom abolition were carried out for political reasons after Napoleon's victory, they were an answer to a need for change that had already been present in the society. These reforms also galvanised the lifting of feudal barriers and transformation into capitalism. Within the span of one to two generations they increased the economic and social role of bourgeoisie and liberation of feudal peasants from inheritable personal dependence, thereby facilitating their migration within the country and abroad.

Nobility (*Nobiles*)

After the Prussian incorporation of Silesia in 1740, the number of noble families there rose in the following decades. Their numbers grew as more and more Silesian estates were taken over. This growth can be divided into two periods: the first one resulted from the incorporation of Silesia into Prussia, and the other from the acquisition of church property after its secularization in 1810. Their new owners hailed mainly from Brandenburg. Significantly smaller numbers came from Eastern Prussia, Pomerania and Lower Saxony[3]. This diversity of the territorial origin of the new nobles should be regarded as a force which had a disintegrative effect on this social group. Some of them came to Silesia after obtaining a Silesian *Inkolat*, which mainly took place during, or directly after, the Silesian Wars. This practice did not occur in the following century, when estate owners were gradually bestowed with lower noble titles. Less often estate owners were ennobled as barons or counts, and even more sporadically as dukes[4]. This practice of ennoblement had a disintegrative impact as part of the newly arrived families made Silesia only a temporary place of residence. It took as much as decades – through land purchase

[2] A slow process of forming symbolic elites took place in the 19th century. Their representatives did not possess any special legal powers obtained through privilege at birth, nor any economic powers. The respect they enjoyed in local communities could influence and move public opinion. Cf. *Schlesische Lehrerversammlung (OPAVA). Stenographisches Protokoll der in Troppau abgehaltenen Schlesischen Lehrerversammlung am 9. Juli 1868*, Teschen 1868, pp. 29–32.

[3] Roman Sękowski, *Herbarz szlachty śląskiej informator genealogiczno-heraldyczny*, vol. 1, Katowice 2002, p. 152, 257; vol. 5, Katowice 2007, pp. 120–122, 268–274.

[4] The analysis was based on data from 615 families. See: *idem*, *Herbarz szlachty śląskiej*, vol. 1-5, Katowice 2002-2007.

or through marriage – for the new families to become part of the Silesian social structure.

Slavic families gradually became outnumbered by those of a German cultural heritage. This was also the case among newly arrived and ennobled families[5]. First knighthoods were granted during the First Silesian War and were dictated by political reasons, as Friedrich II needed new elites. Despite the fact that both belligerent parties granted noble titles[6] to their supporters, members of the nobility who wished to remain in the western and central parts of Silesia had to swear loyalty to Friedrich the Great. Those who failed to do so were considered supporters of Maria Theresa and were ordered to leave the Prussian monarchy[7]. This choice was faced by both old families who had resided in Silesia long before changing their nationality as well as the newly arrived ones. It was at that time that the immigration of nobility from Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary into Silesia came to an end[8]. This trend stemmed from the policies maintained by both conflicted monarchies, with Maria Theresa considering immigration into Silesia high treason, with all the consequences such a charge brought, including imprisonment and loss of property[9]. The necessity to choose between material and political gains constituted both an integrative and disintegrative force for old Silesian families. If a family owned property on both the Austrian and Prussian sides of Silesia, it was not uncommon for two family branches to emerge and function separately within their respective conflicted states. Sometimes due to natural causes, e.g. the extinction of one family branch in one of the states, its property was taken over by a male representative of the branch from the other side of the Prussian-Austrian border. This practice had a disintegrative effect on Silesia as it reinforced the division of the area into two parts remaining in two separate states. This practice, aimed at enabling noble families to retain their wealth, had a disintegrative effect on Silesia as it reinforced the division of the area into two parts remaining in two separate states. Nonetheless, in moments critical for the existence of a family, its influence stretched over to land located in the other state, thus showing consistency with its ideological assumptions.

---

[5] *Ibidem*.

[6] *Ibidem*.

[7] Read about attitudes particularly towards Catholic nobility in Silesia in e.g.: Augustin Theiner, *Zustände der katholischen Kirche in Schlesien von 1740-1758*, vol. 1, Regensburg 1852, pp. 6-7.

[8] See: W. Musialik, *Z ziem czeskich, słowackich i węgierskich. Imigranckie rody szlacheckie na Śląsku do końca XVIII w.* [a paper presented on a conference „Via viatores quaerit. Mobilność społeczna w dziejach krajów grupy wyszehradzkiej" Gdynia 29th May 2014].

[9] William W. Hagen, *German History in Modern Times. Four Lives of the Nation*, Cambridge 2012, p. 70.

After the Prussian-Austrian Wars, most families who sold their property in Silesia[10] were Catholic families of Polish, Prussian, Czech or even Scottish or Brabantian extraction. From 1747, this kind of procedure required a royal permission to be effective[11]. In the following century, Slavic families were particularly active in carrying out this kind of operation as they most probably felt alienated due to being surrounded by Prussians or having no career prospects in the Prussian royal court or administration[12]. According to 'Deutsche Adelszeitung', 139 old families[13] owned great Silesian estates before 1814, but this number had plummeted to 70 by 1880, and the number of great estates owned by foreign families (from outside Silesia) was 53[14].

The noble families who decided to sell their estates were mainly Roman Catholic[15]. One reason behind this trend was the difference in the treatment of the nobility by the Habsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. Put simply, the former only granted privileges whilst the latter additionally imposed tax-related responsibilities. This prompted the nobles who owned estates in both Silesia and the Habsburg Empire to dispose of the land located in the Prussian territory[16]. According to Johannes Ziekursch, at the end of the 1860s '250 nobles' resided outside Prussian Silesia, amongst them old families such as Wallis and Zerotin[17]. Even as late as the 19th century one could notice tensions between the Upper Silesian Catholic nobility and higher-ranking civil servants from Lower Silesia or Brandenburg. Generally speaking, not only was the class of civil servants very critical of the lower echelons of the Upper Silesian nobility, but it was also eager to voice such criticism in publications, blaming them for the outrageous living conditions endured by the Upper Silesian peasantry[18]. This attitude prevented representatives of the debased nobility from entering the class of civil servants. In addition, a strong pro-Habsburg sentiment

[10] Cf. *Historia Śląska*, vol. 1, part 3, pp. 491–492, 502.

[11] K. Zimmermann, *Fryderyk Wielki*, p. 283.

[12] R. Sękowski, *Herbarz szlachty śląskiej*.

[13] The press release emphasised that the number refers to the 'old' Silesian families and not 'all' active then in the area.

[14] See: *Wielka własność ziemska na Śląsku pruskim*, 'Ziemianin', No. 42 of 20th October 1884, p. 374.

[15] K. Zimmermann, *Fryderyk Wielki*, p. 243.

[16] Norbert Conrads, *Die schlesische Ständeverfassung im Umbruch. Vom altständischen Herzogtum zur preußischen Provinz*, [in:] *Ständetum und Staatsbildung in Brandenburg-Preußen. Ergebnisse einer internationalen Fachtagung*, eds Peter Baumgart, Jürgen Schmädeke, Berlin 1983 (=Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, Bd. 55. Forschungen zur preußischen Geschichte), p. 354.

[17] J. Ziekursch, *Hundert Jahre schlesische Agrargeschichte*, p. 46.

[18] Friedrich Weidemann, *Oberschlesische Zustände in freien Rasirspiegel-Scenen*, Leipzig 1843, p. 76.

remained in the 19th century[19]. This may be partly attributed to the nobles' inability to adapt to the changing economic reality. For example, the crisis of the 1820s brought about significant changes to the social structure of great land owners – now it was mainly the bourgeoisie, industrialists, bankers and civil servants that purchased large land estates[20].

As the number of newly settled noble families grew in Silesia, one could observe a progressing Prussification of the Silesian nobility[21]. This mainly took place through promotion within the ranks of the administrative or military hierarchy. The doors to promotion were first opened to Protestant nobles, but the system later embraced Catholic ones too[22]. This process was further reinforced by the fact that higher posts of the provincial Silesian administration were assigned to those representatives of the nobility who had acquired practical skills while working in other provinces. The man who became *Oberpräsident* of Silesia in 1816 – Moritz Haubold Freiherr von Schönberg[23] – had held a similar post in the Merseburg district; similarly, Ferdinand Otto von Nordenflycht was appointed *Oberpräsident* of Silesia 1873, having previously acted as Chief President of Frankfurt an der Oder[24], and this was not dissimilar to the case of Robert Viktor von Puttkamer, appointed to the post in of the *Oberpräsident* of Silesia 1877, who had previously been president of the Gąbin district and later of Lothringen[25]. This system of rotational appointments was meant to consolidate the administrative system and create a certain kind of loyalty to Prussian supremacy. However, it had a disintegrating effect on the attitudes of individuals. It also contributed to the nobility identifying with state-supported 'homeland' culture.

A factor that had an integrative effect on Silesian society was Friedrich II's decision to uphold Section 6 of the Preliminary Treaty of Wrocław signed on 11 June

[19] N. Conrads*, Die schlesische Ständeverfassung*, p. 354.

[20] Cf. Rudolf Kučera, *Staat, Adel und Elitenwandel. Die Adelsverleihungen in Schlesien und Böhmen im Vergleich*, Göttingen 2012 (=Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, vol. 205), pp. 28–29.

[21] K. Zimmermann, *Fryderyk Wielki*, p. 243.

[22] Johann Christian von Hellbach, *Adels-Lexikon. Oder Handbuch über die historischen genealogischen und diplomatischen, zum Thiel auch heraldischen Nachrichten vom hohen und niedern Adel: besonders in den deutschen Bundesstaaten, so wie von dem östreichischen, böhmischen, mährenschen, preußischen, schlesischen und laizistischen Adel*, vol. 1, Ilmenau 1825, p. 209.

[23] Bärbel Holz, *Berliner Personalpolitik in einer „Braven" Provinz. Ernennungen zu den obersten Verwaltungbehörden Pommerns (1815–1858)*, 'Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeuschetschlands', 52 (2007), p. 274.

[24] *Niemcy.Berlin.30 maja* […] *Naczelny Prezes*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 125 of 1st June 1873, p. 3; *Wiadomości urzędowe*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 127 of 5th June 1873, p. 1.

[25] *Die preußischen Oberpräsidenten 1815-1945*, ed. Klaus Schwabe, Boppard am Rhein 1985, p. 302.

1742, which entitled all Silesians to enjoy all previous liberties and privileges[26]. Even though Friedrich II had a specific understanding of liberties and privileges, he upheld the nobility's privileges in commercial enterprise[27]. The Silesian nobility, with the use of serfs' labour, endeavoured to excavate and process natural resources in resource-rich areas for profit. The large capital expenditures demanded by the nascent Silesian industry resulted in investors undergoing a process of natural selection: in the period between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, only the wealthiest entrepreneurs could afford to apply new production technologies. Therefore, with regard to commercial enterprise, representatives of wealthy Silesian families differed from other Prussian regions. This resulted in their increased wealth and within a few decades made the Silesian nobility the richest nobility in Prussia[28]. Such wealth accumulation mainly through investment in industrialization integrated families who undertook that risk. The immense expenditure required for this type of business venture led to specialization and concentration of resources in industry and agriculture as early as the beginning of the 19th century. However, even families that derived most of their income from heavy industry continued to regard land ownership as the ultimate measure of true wealth. Land was still invested in and was purchased by both aristocrats, such as von Hochberg, and nouveaux-riches, such as Winckler and Godula. The integrity of large noble estates was protected by fee tail, which prior to World War I covered 15% of total arable land area and constituted the largest percentage in Prussia [29].

Yet it was not only the nobility that purchased land due to its perception as an indicator of wealth and status symbol. Legal changes introduced at the beginning of the 19th century allowed the bourgeoisie, including members of the Jewish community, to purchase land[30]. Although the Jewish did not constitute a large proportion of population in Germany as a whole, they were quite numerous among landowners in Silesia. Jews owned 0.609% of manors (*Rittergut*) in Rhineland provinces in 1840, 0.526% in the Province of Poznań, 0.159% in Brandenburg and nearly 0.824% in Silesia. More than half of those were located in Upper Silesia and

[26] Joachim Bahlcke, *Die Geschichte der schlesischen Territorien von den Anfaengen bis zum Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, [in:] *Schlesien und die Schlesier*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke et al., München 1996, p. 78.

[27] Heinrich Wuttke, *Die schlesischen Stände, ihr Wesen, ihr Wirken*, Leipzig 1847, pp. 44–45.

[28] Dominic Lieven, *Abschied von Macht und Arten*. *Der Europäische Adel 1815-1914*, Frankfurt a. Main 1995, p. 345.

[29] Heinz Reif, *Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, München 1999 (=Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, vol. 55), p. 93.

[30] After the 1807 lifting the monopoly on land ownership by nobility and granting Jews with Prussian citizenship in 1812.

were often related to the growing industrial sector there[31]. This proportion made Silesia stand out against other Prussian provinces and became an integrative factor for the whole Province of Silesia as well as the Upper-Silesian micro-region.

Strong links with Silesia were made evident in names given by the nobles describing the effects of their farming achievements enabled by the modernization of the region. The adjective *Silesian* (hist. Polish: *szląski*) was used to coin names of cattle breeds adapted to local needs and climatic conditions. This practice could be observed in the mid-19th century when breeds of *Silesian sheep*, *Silesian cattle* and *Silesian horse* were introduced[32]. Breeders of *Silesian cattle* were determined to secure territorial autonomy in their efforts to maintain their right to independent initiatives. They adopted a policy of 'passive resistance' in 1877 against the government's decision to organize joint exhibitions of slaughter cattle for breeders from the Grand Duchy of Poznań and from Silesia. In his attempt to attract Silesian breeders, the Prussian minister of agriculture allocated 5,000 marks for prizes for the winners[33]. The prize amounts were published in the press for three consecutive years but did not motivate the breeders to participate in this trans-provincial exhibition in large numbers. Breeders from Greater Poland did not show considerable interest in participating. For that reason, state authorities withdrew government subsidies for both of these initiatives. Another consequence of the reluctance of Silesian breeders to support the government's initiative was the state depriving them of influence in organizing domestic herd exhibitions in the capitals of both provinces. This task was now vested in the Farming Society in Berlin[34]. While the creation of a centralized institution in charge of organizing breeding exhibitions in another province every year diminished the importance of local Silesian farming societies, the government's endorsement for it and successful attempts in winning the support of the Prince of Racibórz, one of the wealthiest Silesian Junkers, made

[31] L. Ziątkowski, *Między niemożliwym*, p. 168; Eduard Ludwig Wedekind, *Geschichte der Grafschaft Glatz. Chronik der Städte, Flecken, Dörfer, Kolonien, Schösser u. dieser souverainen Grafschaft von der frühesten Vergangenheit bis auf die Gegenwart*, Neurode 1855.

[32] 'Ziemianin', vol. 3 (1850), p. 56; *Jeszcze kilka słów o wystawie owiec w Wrocławiu.(Dokończenie)*, 'Ziemianin', No. 26 of 29th Juny 1867, p. 206; [Advertisement], 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 289 of 17th December 1872, p. 3; [Advertisement], 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 9 of 13th January 1874, p. 4; *Trzecia wystawa bydła opasowego dla Śląska i W. Ks. Poznańskiego*, „Ziemianin", No. 20 of 15th May 1880, p. 166; (Dr. F. S.), *Usiłowania centr. Towarzystwa gospodarczego śląskiego w celu podniesienia i ustalenia krajowej rasy bydła i czerwone bydło ślązkie*, 'Ziemianin', No. 30 of 25th July 1896, p. 125.

[33] *Tygodniowy przegląd gospodarczy*, 'Ziemianin', No. 48 of 1st December 1877, p. 427.

[34] *Wystawa przyszłoroczna tucznego inwentarza*, 'Ziemianin', No. 48 of 1st December 1877, p. 427; *Trzecia wystawa bydła opasowego dla Śląska i W. Ks. Poznańskiego*, 'Ziemianin', No. 20 of 15th May 1880, p. 166.

it a success. He led an initiative which, in addition to economic goals, also had 'a political goal to bring about German unity in practice and in agriculture and eliminate all differences between provinces'[35], tightening the links between their representatives and Prussian state authorities. This consequently led to the prussification of old Silesian nobility. The distinctive character of this group, which in itself was an integrative factor, strengthened the participation of the nobility in the process of modernising the region's economy. The process of prussification of the nobility ran parallel to the changes occurring in Protestant bourgeoisie, who began to perceive German culture as a basis for integrating all German-speaking countries. The nobility began to support the development of German-Prussian culture, referred to as 'homeland culture', either as its creators (e.g. Josef von Eichendorff, Paul von Haugwitz) or patrons. As an example, Eduard Ludwig Wedekind dedicated his chronicle of the history of the Kłodzko region to Reich's Count Anton von Magnis, '*dem hohen Goenner vaterländischer Geschichte*'[36]. The authorities' support in exchange for loyalty shown to it at first had a disintegrative effect, but with time increased the group's internal homogeneity through administrative and economic activities and to a similar extent affected the attitude its representatives had towards the new government.

The promotion of loyalty to Prussia among Silesians also affected other social groups. Religion was a divisive factor among the Silesian nobility and became particularly noticeable in speeches supporting one of the major religions. Despite that, there was also a tendency – mainly among aristocrats – to support both forms of Christianity (for example, through charity). Roman Catholic nobles were mainly of Polish origin (Lischnovsky, Praschma, Gaschin). Repressions faced by Roman Catholics (such as secularization or *Kulturkampf*) brought integration to that part of the Silesian society[37]. That effect, however, ceased to take place when repressions were extended to include the Polish-speaking clergy[38].

There were considerable differences among the nobles in respect of their genealogy, heraldic past, titles held, professed religion and economic status. Immense differences in wealth were disintegrative to the nobility. What contributed to the growth of wealth was a royal edict permitting the Silesian nobility – before other Prussian nobles – to undertake such business activities which had previously been

[35] *Wystawa rolnicza we Wrocławiu*, 'Ziemianin', No. 24 of 24th June 1888, p. 200.

[36] E. L. Wedekind, *Geschichte.*

[37] Colmar Grünhagen, *Geschichte des ersten schlesischen Krieges nach archivalischen Quellen dargestellt*: vol. 1 *Bis zum Abkommen von Klein-Schnellendorf,* Gotha 1881, p. 164.

[38] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 369.

considered dishonourable to their status[39]. Within decades, this made the Silesian nobility the wealthiest among all Prussian nobles, even though the amount of land owned was not always proportionate to the owner's total wealth[40]. Even the investment methods chosen – mainly in industrial ventures – integrated the families who made such investments as initially those investments were only ancillary to the core source of income, i.e. agriculture. It was only the necessity of investing in technology that led many nobles to choose between farming and industry[41]. The sentiment of land ownership as an indicator of wealth continued to remain in these noble families which now derived most of their income from heavy industry, however. Profits were still invested in land (Thiele-Winckler, Hochberg, etc.). For this reason, Silesia had the largest percentage of land in fee tail (15%) prior to the outbreak of World War I.

Between 1740 and 1918 the Silesian nobility was continuously disintegrated by the influx and ennoblement of newcomers from outside the province. Cultural unification achieved through tighter links with Prussian authorities and removing or excluding Catholic nobles from the monarch's surroundings played a similar role. This led to stronger integration within each religion. Both resulted in gradual prussification. Another integrative factor was the participation of nobility in modernising the region's economy.

The Clergy (*Klerus*)

a) Catholic clergy

In 1755, following the request of the king of Prussia, the pope agreed to divide the monasteries located in Silesia after its incorporation into "Silesian" provinces[42]. After that, official decrees banned accepting brethren from Poland and Bohemia into the community (1745), vesting foreigners with the functions of a superior (1778) and participation in meetings of monastery superiors (chapter meetings), but

[39] Stanisław Michalkiewicz, Leszek Wiatrowski, *Historia chłopów śląskich w latach 1763-1918. Okres kształtowania kapitalizmu*, [in:] *Historia chłopów śląskich*, p. 222.

[40] D. Lieven, *Abschied*, p. 345.

[41] Maria Helena Kania, Dorota Schreiber-Kurpies, *Bezpośrednie inwestycje zagraniczne w gospodarce Śląska Opolskiego w XIX, XX i XXI wieku*, [in:] *Programowanie rozwoju regionu. Ład ekonomiczny i środowiskowo-przestrzenny*, ed. Krystian Heffner, Opole 2007, pp. 65–66, 68–70.

[42] Błażej Bernard Kurowski OFM, *Franciszkanie prowincji św. Jadwigi na Śląsku 1887-1939*, Wrocław 1997, p. 17.

only if they were held outside Prussia (1779)[43]. This limited the possibility of involvement in the matters of Prussian Silesian monasteries to people from beyond the eastern Prussian border, including Cieszyn Silesia. These measures had a disintegrative effect on the sense of community they shared within the region prior to 1740. In the second half of the 18th century some priests from the Dioceses of Wrocław declared their explicit identification with Silesia, which showed their disapproval of the new government's policies. The Silesian clergy were expected to make "a declaration of loyalty" to secular authorities[44].

Prior to 1810, when secularization was implemented, Prussian orders did not manage to remove all foreigners from Silesian monasteries. The implementation of the edict of secularization weakened the material foundations of Dioceses of Wrocław. The clergy's autonomy was restricted by official policies implemented during the *Kulturkampf*, through the introduction of state exams and the practice of requiring official state approval for newly appointed chaplains, catechists, parish priests and bishops. Such approval was granted to priests who declared allegiance to the state, as well as priests of the Old Catholic Church who disagreed with the dogma of papal infallibility. They managed to gain control over catechesis at schools and the army, while any objecting priests were removed from their posts[45]. This practice divided the community of priests in Dioceses of Wrocław into two groups – one loyal to the bishop, the other disloyal. The Ordinary made efforts to maintain conditions that would allow the Catholic Church to uphold its position. Male monasteries were expected to provide German education to missionaries to German colonies, which was required by Otto von Bismarck[46]. Bishop Heinrich Förster resigned from his post in an attempt to defend independence from Protestant influence exerted by the government and their integrative tendencies within the diocese, and the Cathedral Chapter assigned the appointment of a new Wrocław bishop to the Holy See. His successor, Bishop Georg Kopp, made a declaration of loyalty

[43] Joachim Köhler, *Geistliche Gemeinschaften und Bewegungen in Bistum Breslau. Wspólnoty życia duchowego i ruchy religijne w diecezji wrocławskiej*, [in:] *1000 Jahre Bistum Breslau. Erbe und Auftrag der schlesischen Kirche. 1000 lat Diecezji Wrocławskiej. Dziedzictwo i posłannictwo śląskiego Kościoła*, eds Michael Hirschfeld, Markus Trautmann, Dümen–Piechowice 2000, pp. 116–117; *Geschichte des St. Annaberges. Historia Góry Świętej Anny na Górnym Śląsku. Oprac. na podstawie niepublikowanych źródeł przez Chryzogona Reischa*, ed. Józefat Roman Gohly, Wrocław 2006, pp. 113–115.

[44] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, pp. 166–167.

[45] *Ibidem*, p. 163.

[46] Antoni Kiełbasa, *Salwatorianie z ziem polskich w latach 1881-1903*, Wrocław 1998, p. 143.

and became a proponent of Prussian language policy[47], contributing to regional disintegration of the Silesian Catholic community.

Poorly developed state care of the sick and morally neglected inspired female convents from outside the Province of Silesia to set up branches in it. The bishop of Wrocław admitted into his diocese nuns from Lothringen (Sisters of Mercy of St Borromeo)[48], Pays de la Loire (Sisters of Jesus the Good Shepherd)[49], Île-de-France (Sisters Servants of the Sacred Heart)[50], the Rhineland (Hospital Sisters of St. Francis), Bavaria (School Sisters of Notre Dame)[51] as well as servant sisters from Greater Poland[52]. The Ordinary also approved the formation of new local female convents in Prussian Silesia, such as the Sisters of Saint Elizabeth ('Grey Nuns'), Sisters of Immaculate Mary and Sisters of Saint Hedwig[53]. Apart from following established rules for forming convents, this movement carried with it certain signs of autonomy and put emphasis on the unique character of the region.

For practical reasons, the restored male convents (e.g. the Franciscans of Saint Hedwig in Silesia) were composed mainly of Silesian locals[54]. Other male convents (e.g. Society of the Divine Word popularly called Verbites and Salvatorians) which were permitted by the bishop of Wrocław to set up their branches in Silesia had a similar ethnic make-up[55]. This way the convents adapted to conditions imposed on them by the Prussian state authorities, while at the same time contributing to the integration of regional religious communities. By delivering ministry among the Polish-speaking population, they deepened the distinctiveness of the Upper Silesian part of the Dioceses of Wrocław. This happened despite the fact that Bishop Georg Kopp (1887–1914) '*...did not recognise this area <als alter Territorium der*

[47] *Ibidem*, pp. 145-146; J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 149.

[48] Agata Mirek, *Dynamika powstawania żeńskich gromadzeń zakonnych w XIX wieku na ziemiach polskich*, [in:] *Zakony żeńskie na Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Wanda Musialik, Opole 2006, pp. 30–31.

[49] Dorot Schreiber-Kurpiers, *Domy Dobrego pasterza we Wrocławiu i Świętej Katarzynie w świetle sprawozdań z lat 1859-1913. Opieka nad „trudną" młodzieżą żeńska na Śląsku*, [in:] *Zakony żeńskie na Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Wanda Musialik, Opole 2006, pp. 47–48.

[50] *Wołanie do Pana. Konstytucje. Reguła Służebniczek Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego*, Mödling [no date], p. 23.

[51] A. Mirek, *Dynamika*, pp. 30–31.

[52] *Ibidem*, p. 31.

[53] Jan Kopiec, *Kościół na Śląsku wobec wyznań XIX i XX wieku*, [in:] *Zakony żeńskie*, p. 13.

[54] Wanda Musialik, *Franciszkański nekrolog świadectwem potencjału franciszkanów wyznaczonych do komisariatu św. Jadwigi Zgromadzenia Braci Mniejszych w 1902 r. – portret zbiorowy*, [in:] *Observare Evangelium. Wrocławska Księga Jubileuszu 980-lecia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, ed. F. M. Rosiński, Wrocław 2009, pp. 380–384.

[55] Kiełbasa, *Salwatorianie*, pp. 142, 146.

Krone Polen>…'. However, by acting against Polish political campaigning, he introduced a certain kind of policy regarding Polish-language ministry[56].

Giving consideration to the language needs of Catholics divided the clergy of the diocese. In the 19th century most priests declared loyalty to the state instructions. Only a small minority defended the right of the Polish-speaking population to use their native language in public and religious life in Prussian Silesia. There was also a number of aspiring clergy who withdrew and left for areas with a more liberal approach to the Polish culture. They were admitted to Society of Jesus (Jesuits) or missionary in Galician Kraków outside Prussia[57]. Their immigration was an integrative factor for the communities of Catholic priests as it reduced the number of national oppositionists who might want to get a foothold within local Catholic communities. Its weakened potential stalled the emergence of a political movement supported by Silesian priests, aimed at breaking the cohesion of the German Catholic Centre Party. The Centre party's election slogans noticeably contradicted practices used in public life, which – coupled with the growing awareness of the party among Polish organizations of students of Wrocław (such as the Upper Silesian Society, the Society of Upper Silesian Academics and the Association of the Polish Youth 'Zet') [58] – contributed to the growing number of clergy that supported the regional position of the Polish language. Those clergymen became advocates of the electoral rights for Polish circles in Upper Silesia. From the last quarter of the 19th century to the end of World War I they constituted the major part of Polish intelligentsia in Prussian Silesia. German diocesan authorities diluted their influence on Polish-speaking worshippers by transferring them to other parts of the dioceses and to ministry among diasporas, i.e. 'the sands of Brandenburg'[59].

State policy aimed at obtaining influence over local structures of the Catholic Church was a disintegrative force. On the other hand, the clergy's sense of independence from secular authorities served an integrative function. In time, the government's activity helped foster a spirit of integration among the clergy as it came to accept Prussian state authority. The opposition to linguistic unification of the Catholic clergy also proved to be an integrative factor. Other disintegrative factors

[56] *Ibidem*, p. 147.

[57] Jolanta Kwiatek, *Księża misjonarze w Krakowie a Górny Śląsk na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, 'Kwartalnik Opolski', 1992, No. 3-4, pp. 80–99; Wanda Musialik, *Mieszkańcy pruskiego Śląska a Towarzystwo Jezusowe w XIX w. i pierwszej połowie XX w.*, [in:] *Jezuicka ars historica. Prace ofiarowane Księdzu Profesorowi Ludwikowi Grzebieniowi*, eds Marek Ingot, Stanisław Obirek, Kraków 2001, pp. 411–427.

[58] Henryk Olszar, *Duchowieństwo katolickie Diecezji Śląskiej (Katowickiej) w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Katowice 2000, pp. 239–241.

[59] *Ibidem*, p. 76.

triggered by the state policies were the permanent attempts to obtain influence over organizational and linguistic policies of diocesan and monasterial authorities. The implementation of certain administrative practices, particularly at the end of the 19th century, which had an impact on the legal and economic foundations of the Catholic clergy, resulted in a significant prevalence of loyalist attitudes towards state authorities among the representative of this social group. This trend was observed in both the Prussian and the Austrian part of Silesia. However, the regional distinctiveness of this social group, coupled with its opposition to public and political discrimination of Polish-speaking circles of Roman Catholics, led to the creation of a new political movement in Prussian Silesia, endorsed by national movements from Greater Poland. Its influence on Cieszyn Silesia was not as noticeable, which emphasized its regional distinctiveness.

b) Protestant clergy

The annexation of Silesia to Prussia raised hopes of changes to the religious position of Protestants in the region, as initially it led to a considerable increase in the number of Protestant clergymen. Along with the Prussian army, 32 Protestant clergymen[60] arrived in Silesia, even though many more were needed. Because of this, more were to arrive later. The authorities were flooded with communes' requests for more clergymen[61]. Friedrich the Great permitted Protestant communities to create new churches and recruit new preachers. This eventually led to the creation of 212 new parish units[62]. The relatively low number of churches returned to Protestants between 1740 and early 1800s[63] in comparison to the number of temples that had been restituted in the early 1700s resulted partly from a shortage of clergy. Therefore initially it was military preachers who took care of certain

[60] Friedrich Gottlob Eduard Anders, *Historische Diözesantabellen oder Geschichtliche Darstellung der äusseren Verhältnisse der evangelischen Kirche in Schlesien*, Glogau 1855, p. 58; A. Theiner*, Zustände*, p. 4.

[61] See: Werner Bellardi, *Die Bittgesuche evangelischer Gemeinden Schlesiens an Friedrich den Großen*, 'Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte', 33 (1954), pp. 64–84.

[62] F.G.E. Anders, *Historische Diözesantabellen*, p. 58.

[63] One such example was the church in Karolath (Julius Berg*, Die Geschichte der schwersten Prüfungszeit der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens und der Oberlausitz d.i. Der Zeit von Einführung der Reformation bis zur Besitznahme Schlesiens durch König Friedrich den Grossen*, Jauer 1857, p. 541). In Roesnitz near Leobschütz, the church was regained in a court case 1801 (*ibidem*, p. 543). Another exception was the church in Weisholz near Glogau, regained in 1755 (*ibidem* p. 544). Berg lists 53 localities where churches were restituted to Protestant communities (*ibidem*, pp. 538–545).

Protestant communities (e.g. in Hołdunów). After full implementation of formal and territorial changes, 632 temples began operating in Silesia from 1810[64].

Newly arrived pastors from outside Silesia, who were not familiar with its reality, found Lower Silesia to be quite comfortable owing to the widespread usage of German in the territory. On the other hand, they faced more considerable problems in Upper Silesia, where parts of the Protestant population spoke only Polish. In spite of an initially very warm welcome – as at the beginning the local population craved contact with a Protestant pastor[65], they were not always able to keep their posts. One reason for this was the inability of the locals to speak German, while another was insufficient remuneration. Therefore in 1742 new parishes were allowed in places where the Protestant community could afford to financially support the preacher and build a church. It was then that dramatic differences in the income of Protestant clergymen began to emerge as some pastors working in the countryside barely made ends meet, which was harshly criticised later. Thus, contrary to what had been expected, Friedrich the Great did not grant privileges to the Protestants. However, by closely subordinating the clergy to state authorities, he created a situation in which they were perceived by Catholics as an extension of the government's power. Almost a century later, in the mid-19th century, Augustin Theiner accu sed pastors ordained at that time by the king of Prussia began their service by spreading aversion to the pope and loyalty to Prussia[66]. Indeed, in the king's opinion, the main task of a clergyman was to raise good subjects[67].

Those clergymen who supported the ideas of the Enlightenment introduced changes to the liturgy and the way they spread God's word, which was in breach of the established Silesian tradition[68] and disrupted the worshipper's identification with the region. These tendencies were particularly strong among clergymen educated in Halle[69]. In opposition to this was the Pietism, which began to gain importance at the end of the 18th century, also in Silesia, which greatly influenced

[64] F.G.E. Anders, *Historische Diözesantabellen*, p. 74.

[65] Evident in e.g. memoirs. Cf. *Eine Reise von Herrnhut aus in das Kriegsgebiet des ersten schlesischen Krieges*, [in:] *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Schlesien*, ed.Gustav A. Benrath, München–Oldenburg 1992, p. 195.

[66] A. Theiner, *Zustände*, p. 4.

[67] The system of choosing a pastor by the community, stipulated in the General National Law of 1794 (Part 2, Title 11) giving the decisive vote to a patron or magistrate strengthened the relationship with secular authorities. See: Erdmann Schott, *Von der Staatskirche zur staatsfreien Kitrche*. *Zum Weg der schlesischen evangelischen Kirche 1806 bis 1919*, [in:] *Geschichte* des *christlichen Lebens* im *schlesischen Raum*, vol 2, eds *Joachim Köhle*, *Rainer Bendel*, Münster 2002, p. 700.

[68] Cf.F.G.E. Anders, *Historische Diözesantabellen*, p. 64.

[69] T. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte*, p. 424.

Protestantism in Silesia in the first half of the 19th century. The creation of the Prussian Union of Churches, which began in 1817 on the 300th anniversary of Luther's declaration, was of personal interest to the Prussian ruler Friedrich Wilhelm III. While the arguments in favour of setting up the Union were generally accepted, the proposed change of the liturgy, known as the Agenda, did not receive a great degree of approval. The introduction of somewhat archaic elements was not based on an in-depth analysis of the symbolism and rituals used in various regions of Prussia in the past. The protests in Silesia were more vocal than in other Prussian provinces and mainly came from Pietists and orthodox Lutherans. Pastor Johann Gottfried Scheibel (1783–1843) opposed the changes and others followed suit. Those particularly stubborn were faced with disciplinary punishment, including removal from office. Counteractive measures against the communities opposing the Agenda included military action. The town Miodary is mentioned in literature as a place when the army intervened in December 1834. Shortly after the events, the residents formally apologised to the authorities, who accepted the apology in a special letter from 7 February 1835. The events in Miodary were ones of the last protests faced with this kind of response. This, however, did not stop the protests of Old Lutherans[70]. The problem was ultimately solved by allowing them to emigrate. Laws adopted between 1842 and 1847 regulated the issue of apostasy and creation of the so-called Free Churches. Research has shown that at the base of the dissident groups were persons from the so-called mixed marriages[71]. Protestant pastors belonged to the intellectual elites in their communities and eagerly participated in their lives. These organizations were not allowed to criticise the system or the ruler, which was illustrated by the example of pastor Friedrich Wilhelm Müller[72]. They were mainly members of literary and scientific societies (Philomatica etc.). A new unifying element in the last decades of the 18th century Silesia was the expansion of Freemasonry, which was mainly led by Protestants. Due to the fact that many of its representatives were members of Prussian authorities and through the introduction of a single uniform rite, the Freemasons' movement was completely devoid of regional identification. Even so, Protestant pastors enjoyed less freedom that their Catholic counterparts. Admission to ordination enabled the elimination of more radical individuals and served as a method of screening preachers. Most pastors,

[70] *Conversations-Lexikon der Gegenwart: In vier Bänden*, vol. 2: *F bis J*, Leipzig 1839, p. 972.

[71] Dorota Kurpiers, *The ethnicity of inhabitants of the Silesian region (up to 1918)*, continued in this volume.

[72] Walter Schmidt, *Friedrich Wilhelm Müller (1801–1868). Ein Burschenschafter, protestantischer Geistlicher und achtundvierziger Demokrat aus Schlesien*, Berlin 2003 (online access: http://www.burschenschaftsgeschichte.de/pdf/schmidt_friedrich_wilhelm_mueller.pdf).

prior to taking up priesthood, worked as private teachers and were later appointed by a limited number of influential and wealthy community members. Therefore most Protestant clergymen were traditionalistic and subordinated[73]. Children were also raised in this spirit. Sons usually obtained university degrees, some continued the family tradition and joined the clergy[74]. A term *Pastorengeschlecht* was coined and used in literature to refer to multigenerational dynasties of pastors[75]. Oftentimes, sons pursued university careers[76], not necessarily in theology.

On the other hand, some pastors, mainly the ones who were not originally from Silesia, tended to separate themselves from their parishioners. Therefore it was the nobility and not the Protestant clergy that pioneered the work of *Innere Mission* in Silesia[77]. This was partly justified by the harsh financial situation of part of the Protestant clergy, mainly those working for the so-called *Bethhausgemeinden*, or communities with gospel halls[78]. Protestant clergymen, albeit reluctantly, dealt with matters which were not directly related to their priesthood. This situation did not change until approximately 1830[79]. This did not stop some pastors feeling as 'a foreign body', as it was described in literature on the subject. A pastor's daughters recollects: "My father was part of that community for thirty years. He gained respect and collected [tokens] of gratitude, but he didn't become one of them. [His] son didn't try it at all"[80]. This internal tension within the government-linked Protestantism coupled with the unequal treatment of its various forms, led to the creation of new denominations and sects, and had a strongly disintegrative effect on the region. On the one hand, Lutheranism was centralised, which caused it to lose its regional identity and had a disintegrative effect on Prussian Silesia. On the other, the close links of Protestant churches with the central government, culminating in the creation of the Prussian Union of Churches, sparked distrust among the Catholic population. Things were different in the Austrian part of Silesia, where the Evangelical Lutheran Church pressed for administrative independence and creation

[73] *Listy braci masonów*. *Carl v. Hessen do Haugwitza*, ed. Dorota Kurpiers, [in printing].

[74] Cf. Otto Schulze, *Predigergeschichte der Stadt Breslau*, Breslau 1938.

[75] See: Henriette Schuppener, *„Nichts war umsonst" – Harald Poelchau und der deutsche Widerstand,* Münster 2006, p. 9, fn. 3.

[76] Karl Weihold, son of Karl Weinhold Sr., the Dzierżoniów pastor, (1823-1901) became professor and specialised in Mediaeval History.

[77] Christian-Erdmann Schott, *Die Anfänge der Diakonie im Schlesien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] Festschrift zum 150jährigen Jubiläum der Schlesischen Genossenschaft des Johanniterordens, ed. Christian-Erdmann Schott, Würzburg 2003, p. 67.

[78] Christian-Erdmann Schott, *Die Alimentierung der schlesischen evangelischen Landpfarrer zwischen 1785 und 1849,* 'Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte', 75 (1997), pp. 93–122.

[79] Ch.-E. Schott, *Die Anfänge*, p. 68.

[80] Quote from H. Schuppener, *„Nichts war umsonst*", p. 10.

of its distinct identity in the region. Legal and state-related matters were regulated by the Josephine Tolerance Patent of 1781, which lay out conditions for the functioning of Evangelists in a country with dominant Roman Catholicism. The document was to be binding throughout the Empire and so enabled Protestants from Cieszyn Silesia to maintain their distinctiveness. Under a 1784 court edict, the consistory was relocated from Cieszyn to Vienna, where in 1821 a Faculty of Evangelical Theology was established at the University of Vienna, where youth from the Cieszyn area could study[81]. This way its attitudes could be shaped in accordance with the patterns of the entire Habsburg Empire. Religious individuality in Austrian Silesia was exemplified by the fact that services were officiated in Polish, Czech and German. Nonetheless, the above described practices deepened the disintegrative division of Silesians into Catholics and Protestants.

Bourgeoisie. The Third Estate *(Bürgerthum)*

The bourgeoisie did not form a cohesive social group in Prussian Silesia. Their status depended on whether they possessed small or large town right. A strong integrative role was played by merchants' guilds. After they were formally disbanded, they left an organizational void, which was not filled until mid-19th century with the development of unions. The occurrence of the economic, and partially political, changes brought about a gradual development of a new social group – the Third Estate. It was composed of industrialists, civil servants and teachers. Part of its members had their origins in the bourgeoisie (who secured their position either with their economic status or a university degree, which allowed them to be further promoted within the administration hierarchy) and another part had its roots in the state run system of education. During the liberation war with Napoleon a new way of joining the Third Estate emerged – military career. However, it was only available to those who spoke German and had at least basis literacy and numeracy skills[82].

Members of the Third Estate came mainly from the bourgeoisie and though they cherished its ideals and way of life, they were also heavily inspired by the nobility and adopted some of its aspirations, e.g. creation of culture. This task integrated the new social class with the nobility. Another thing shared by both those

[81] Wiesława Korzeniowska, *Państwowe, kościelne, gospodarczo-społeczne elementy integrujące i dezintegrujące region,* [in:] *Śląsk Cieszyński w latach 1741-1918 w aspekcie czynników integrujących i dezintegrujących region. Studium monograficzne,* Kraków 2013, pp. 25–28.

[82] Cf. *Publikandum*, 'Schlesische Priviliegierte Zeitung', No. 13 (1813), p. 217.

groups was identification with German culture and Prussia (in the case of the Third Estate this identification was almost universal), which they viewed as a country offering better development opportunities. It should be remembered that part of its members, mainly teachers and civil servants, had closer links with the state as their promotion depended on the state's ideology and social policies.

A strong disintegrative factor among the bourgeoisie was the Prussian government's employment policy, which showed favouritism towards one of the religions. This became particularly noticeable after the annexation of Silesia when this practice was applied in state administration, the court system, the healthcare system, transport, the mining industry and the academia. After the annexation, the Prussian ruler ensured loyalty from magistrates by installing there longtime army officers and restricting Catholics from taking up posts with annual remuneration exceeding 300 thalers[83]. In Silesian practice, appointments to posts in local administration were not connected with place of residence, which meant that posts were taken up by nobles with no connection with the local community. Candidates to those posts were preferably members of the Protestant Church. With time, Protestant teachers began to appear also in Catholic schools (e.g. in 1870 in Jelenia Góra and Wrocław, in 1882 in Głogówek)[84]. Such nominations seemed to gain popularity due to potential benefits that came with it and tangible support from state authorities. The diminishing numbers of Old Catholics in Upper Silesia coinciding with the loosening of *Kulturkampf*-based regulations[85], revealed political and social preferences of worshippers. Therefore, in places like Nysa, town council was dominated first by teachers and later, after lifting restrictive anti-Catholic laws, persons connected with industry[86]. A career in teaching depended on the public image of a person, whereas obtaining a job in industry resulted more from a person's professional qualification and less from their beliefs.

From 1740s onwards, another disintegrative force was appointing to official posts in the annexed area persons from other parts of Prussia. It was not until mid-19th century that officials of Silesian origin were allowed to take up governmental posts. In 1848 August Wenzel, Chairman of the Higher Land Court in Racibórz,

[83] Adam Rutkowski-Pobóg, *Historja miasta Królewskiej Huty,* Królewska Huta 1927, p. 40.

[84] *Wiadomości urzędowe*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 10 of 13th January 1870, p. 2; 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 283 of 6th December 1870, p. 2; 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 79 of 6th April 1882, p. 2.

[85] Cf. Andreas Gayda*, Die Rolle des Altkatholizismus in Oberschlesien zur Zeit des Kulturkampfes*, [in:] *Geschichte des Christlichen Lebens im schlesischen Raum*, vol. 3, eds Joachim Köher, Rainer Bende, Münster 2002, p. 658.

[86] Cf. *Ibidem,* p. 658.

was appointed Minister of Justice[87]; in 1862 Gustav Wilhelm Jagow, Head of Wrocław Police, became Minister of the Interior[88]; in 1873 Adalbert Falk, an Ełk prosecutor hailing from Lower Silesia became Minister of Spiritual Matters and Public Enlightenment[89]; finally, Max von Forckenbeck, previously *Oberpräsident* of Wrocław, became Minister of Finance[90]. In their ministerial positions, Silesians supported the government's projects limiting the distinctiveness of Silesia, e.g. Minister Falk was the co-creator of the religious and educational policy known as *Kulturkampf*. The rotational system of appointments to higher offices resulted in a cohesive bureaucratic apparatus, which shaped a distinct sense of loyalty among people who could subordinate local interests to the Prussian ideology. By this, they contributed to the disintegration of the region.

Another factor promoting the growth of centralization and loyalty to the state was the requirement to obtain suitable education for candidates to official posts. A similar system was in force in relation to other clerical jobs in the public sector. In the 1850s Wrocław underwent an influx of academic teachers mainly from Bonn, Rostock and Jena, and in 1870 from Kiel, Berlin, Karlsruhe, Greifswald and Rostock. The newcomers were offered promotions and professor's titles. Academic teachers educated at the University of Wrocław were also offered such privileges when moving to Berlin, Bonn, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Kiel, Münster, Rostock and Królewiec. This way German academics participated in the creation of German scientific and educational circles[91]. Clergy was incorporated into this system after *Kulturkampf.*

Legal changes were becoming an integrative factor for the bourgeoisie, which among certain merchants resulted in absolute subordination of the interests of one's own company to the interests of the entire sector. An example for Erich Przywara SJ (1889-1972) was his predecessor Matthias Przywara, the organiser of merchant community in Katowice, which he treated 'as if it were his true "family"'[92]. His attitude may reflect the mentality of an ardent neophyte and a recent peasant. By marrying a civil servant's daughter[93] and acquiring a higher social status he strengthened

[87] 'Czas', No. 1 of 3rd November 1848, p. 5.

[88] *Wrocław. 17 kwietnia*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 91 of 19th April 1862, p. 1.

[89] *Niemcy*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 19 of 25th January 1872, pp. 1–2.

[90] Hanna Okólska, *Miejsca spoczynku władców Wrocławia oraz członków władz miejskich na przestrzeni dziejów*, Wrocław 2006, p. 25.

[91] The migration of academics was established on the basis of academic nominations published in 'Dziennik Poznański' between 1859 and 1900.

[92] Margarete Schmid, *Erich Przywara SJ (1889-1972)*, Köln 2002 (=Edition Cardo, vol. 36), p. 6.

[93] *Ibidem*.

his position in the local community in his town. A similar identification process pertained in Upper Silesia to newcomers from Galicia, particularly Jews, who entered the ranks of local town councils and business circles[94]. However, as early as in 1880s it was becoming more common for Upper Silesian Jews from merchant families to pursue careers as lawyers or doctors and move to more prominent towns in Prussian Silesia or other German provinces[95]. Their attitude deepened their integration exclusively with the German-speaking population[96] and was also noticeable in Cieszyn Silesia[97].

The creation of local communities was also promoted by the state's internal policies defining the limits of public involvement of the citizens. The intention to participate in the creation of legal conditions regulating daily life fostered the creation of persuasion groups. In 1848 deputations from Wrocław and Legnica presented the king with a request for a constitution[98]. In 1876 Wrocław hosted representatives of eighty Prussian Silesian towns, who gathered to obtain more influence on the municipal ordinance act[99]. The attitudes of the townspeople who participated in the creation of local communities and business societies promoted integration among the Silesian population. They built provincial organizational structures based on local administration. Enrolment in social organizations at the commune, town and district level opened possibilities for the formation of social groups uniting representatives of former social classes and professions, who were joint by religion (rallies of Upper-Silesian Catholics)[100], political idea (German Catholic Centre Party)[101], a financial venture (*Schlesische Bankverein*, *Schlesische Central Bank für Landwirtschaft u. Handel*)[102] or charity (Vincent de Paul Congregations). Representatives

[94] Leszek Ziątkowski, *Przestrzeń prawna i przestrzeń społeczna osadnictwa żydowskiego na Górnym Śląsku,* [in:] *Żydzi na Górnym Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku*, eds Barbara Kalinowska-Wójcik, Dawid Keller, Rybnik-Katowice 2012, pp. 36–37.

[95] Halina Kowalczyk-Dudała, *Młodzież żydowska w dziejach gimnazjum w Królewskiej Hucie w latach 1877-1914*, [in:] *Z dziejów oświaty w Chorzowie. Materiały z sesji naukowej 8 października 1997 r*., Chorzów Batory 1998, p. 21; Halina Dudała, Julia Dziwoki, *Rok 1865 w świetle katowickich ksiąg metrykalnych*, [in:] *Katowice w 138. rocznicę uzyskania praw miejskich*, ed. A. Barciak, Katowice 2004, p. 67.

[96] Maciej Borkowski, *Gmina żydowska w Opolu w latach 1812-1944*, Opole 2009, p. 41.

[97] *Czego chce i do czego dążyć będzie „Ślązak"?*, 'Ślązak. Gazeta Ludowa', No. 1 (1909), pp. 1–3.

[98] 'Gazeta Polska', No. 5 of 28th March 1848, p. 2.

[99] *Niemcy* […] *W dniu 7 bm. zebrali się w Wrocławiu,* 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 85 of 13th April 1876, p. 2.

[100] *Niemcy* […] *Walne zebranie katolików górnoszląskich*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 203 of 6th September 1883, p. 2.

[101] *Niemcy. Berlin 5 maja,* 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 105 of 7th May 1876, p. 3.

[102] [Advertisements], 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 68 of 22nd March 1867, p. 4.

of towns joined forces again in the following decade, in the face of planned changes in the state's customs policy. Large landowners forced higher tariffs on grain, which not only posed a threat of rising food prices and consequently rising cost of living for town-dwelling workers but also increased the cost of running a business. The idea of counteracting these changes was the driving force behind the actions of both proponents and opponents of the government's solutions. In the case of protective tariffs, the idea came from the nobility of Prussian Silesia. Their antagonists, who originated mainly from German cities, gave support to the then Mayor of Berlin, Max von Forckenbeck, who had previously held a respective post in Wrocław[103].

Not unlike the nobility, the bourgeoisie emphasised its Silesian identity by including the adjective 'Silesian' in the names of some of its products. From the 1870s onwards, advertisements featured such products as 'Silesian grindstones', 'Silesian canvass' (1871, 1881, 1882) and 'Silesian coal'(1878). Most often, the adjective was used to refer to crops. Press adverts also offered 'Silesian blueberries' (1869), 'Silesian flaxseed', 'Silesian oats' and even 'Silesian pineapples' (1880). Advertisers were looking for enthusiasts of 'genuine Upper-Silesian raspberry juice' (1881, 1882) and 'Silesian beer'. Stock prices were being quoted for 'Silesian broadbeans' (1878), 'Silesian yellow clover' (1892), 'Silesian caraway' (1894) and 'Silesian wheat flour' (1894). The same practice was applied to advertise 'the first Silesian wool laundry' (1871), 'Silesian mountain railway' (1879, 1880, 1882), 'Silesian sugar factory' (1881), 'Silesian cotton mills' (1881) and 'health resorts in Silesian mountains'[104]. The practice of including a reference to the Silesian origin in the trade names of certain products manufactured in the region made them distinctive on the markets of Prussia and the German Empire. This practice of making references to Silesia in the names of crops and industrially produced goods can be seen as a result of the policy of regionalised education, which put the subject of *Heimatkunde* in the syllabus. Its purpose was to integrate the pupils with the Silesian region, particularly those from non-German families[105]. It was also intended as

[103] *Korespondencye Dziennik Poznańskiego. Berlin 6 września*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 257 of 8th November 1878, p. 2.

[104] Cf. [Advertisements], 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 207 of 19th September 1865, p. 4; 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 144 of 27th June, p. 5; 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 178 of 7th August 1869, p. 4; 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 134 of 15th May 1871, p. 4; 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 117 of 24th May 1874, p. 6; 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 193 of 24th August 1880, p. 4; 'Ziemianin', No. 17 of 23rd January 1892, p. 70; 'Ziemianin', No. 45 of 10th November 1892, p. 199; 'Ziemianin', No. 47 of 24th November 1893, p. 207.

[105] Bogdan Cimała*, Prace historyczne poświęcone dziejom miejscowości Śląska Opolskiego*, [in:] *Kronikarz a historyk. Atuty i słabości regionalnej historiografii. Materiały z konferencji Cieszyn 20-21 września 2007*, ed. Janusz Spyra, Cieszyn 2010, p. 377.

a tool for restoring education that promoted the sense of regional distinctiveness, previously undermined by the standardization of teaching materials used in the German education system and leading to a vanishing sense of 'spiritual connectedness with their place of origin' among the young generation[106].

The Peasantry (*Volk*)

There was vast internal diversity among the peasantry until the 19th century due to great differences in the wealth and type of serfdom of its members depending on the part of Silesia in which they resided. Lack of reliable statistical data makes it difficult to precisely estimate the size of this social group. Until 1850s, this class mainly embraced village dwellers, who constituted approximately 80% of the population of Silesia[107]. The changes that later occurred within this class resulted from a transformation of the economic system. A factor which shaped the sense of local and regional community was the personal dependence of serfs to landowners, which limited the contacts that preindustrial communities had with the outside world. This practice led to the atomic structure of peasants' communities. The limited mobility that its members could enjoy made them live in a separate, isolated world, hence they did not experience language barrier as a permanent phenomenon nor its consequences[108]. It was a factor that contributed to the development of regional distinctiveness. The awareness of those barriers rose during and after the settlement campaign led by Friedrich II, as the process of immigration into Silesia, inspired by the Prussian authorities, included the peasantry. Between 1740 and 1786, 306 new settlements were created with inhabitants originating from outside the Prussia annexed area along the Odra. Immigrants were also placed in existing settlements. Their estimated number was 60 thousand[109]. New settlements were located in areas with majority of Polish-speaking population. This was a disintegrative factor, as Upper Silesia (or more precisely Opole Silesia) received nearly 23%, i.e. 55 new settlements[110]. The settlers were exempt from feudal duties, which were

[106] Erich Przywara SJ, *Was ich Kattowitz danke, 'Der Oberschlesier' z 11 IV 1932. Co zawdzięczam Katowicom*, translated by Adolf Kühneman, 'Joseph Eichendorf Konwersatorium. Zeszyty Edukacji Kulturalnej', 69 (2010), pp. 174–175.

[107] S. Michalkiewicz, L. Wiatrowski, *Historia*, p. 242.

[108] Józef Chlebowczyk, *Klasa robotnicza Górnego Śląska a proces kształtowania się więzi narodowej*, Katowice 1985, p. 9.

[109] G. Wąs, *Dzieje Śląska*, p. 263.

[110] Michał Lis, *Górny Śląsk. Zarys dziejów do połowy XX wieku*, Opole 2001, p. 67-68; G. Wąs, *Dzieje Śląska*, p. 263.

binding on the locals[111]. This ran parallel to the campaign of settling Germans on Cieszyn Silesia, undertaken by Empress Maria Theresa and continued by Joseph II, Emperor of Austria[112]. Both these campaigns brought about a top-down disintegration of local populations and consequently, of their regional distinctiveness.

Until the first decade of the 19th century, the situation of the peasants was determined by patrimonial relations. An integrative role for the peasants were anti-feudal protests caused by increasing feudal burdens related to personal, land and court dependence of the serfs. The change of the economic system caused by the social transformations of the Napoleonic era[113] brought about disintegrative factors for lower layers of what was until then the third estate. 'Free rent' disintegrated local communities formed in the feudal period, leading to a new distribution of local population deriving income from own labour. Peasants were undertaking activities related to their demand of lifting feudal encumbrances. Those activities ranged from organised theft of wood from the forest to riots and turmoil during which peasants jostled the servants of their feudal masters[114]. Litigation was another form of protest, in which groups of villagers usually acted jointly. This practice was very common in Silesia[115]. The desire to lower court cases, which were so high they could financially ruin the peasants, encouraged Prussian authorities to bring forth a pragmatic solution. It was described in *Instruktion zur Einleitung der Prozesse zwischen Untertanen und Ihren Herrschaften*, announced for Silesia and the County of Kłodzko in 1770[116]. It is an example of passing separate law for a particular region.

The change of the economic system caused by the social transformations of the Napoleonic era[117] brought about disintegrative factors for lower layers of what was until then the third estate. 'Free rent' after the liberation of peasants from serfdom became a disintegrative factor on the distribution and structure

[111] A. Rutkowski-Pobóg, *Historja miasta*, p. 41.

[112] Adam Walaszek, *Migracje Europejczyków 1650-1914*, Kraków 2007, p. 88; Danuta Kocurek, *Oświata i kultura wyznacznikami tożsamości region*, [in:] *Śląsk Cieszyński w latach 1741-1918 w aspekcie czynników integrujących i dezintegrujących region. Studium monograficzne*, Kraków 2013, p. 75.

[113] Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, pp. 287–288, 298–301, 305–306, 308.

[114] Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu (=State Archives in Opole), *Inwentarz Archiwum hr. Prashmy z Niemodlina*, Found No. 152.

[115] Christian Grahl, *Die Abschaffung der Advokatur unter Friedrich dem Grossen*, Göttingen 1993, p. 50.

[116] *Ibidem*, p. 53.

[117] Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, pp. 287–288, 298–301, 305–306, 308.

of the population deriving income from own labour. A factor which contributed to the high increase of proletariat and semi-proletariat was high birth rate which exceeded jobs available on farms but also in local industry, commerce and craft. Country proletariat was initially made up of servants employed by large farm owners, wealthier peasants or even small farm owners. Their number, including peasants' children over the age of ten, who also worked in the field, was estimated at nearly 200,000 at the end of the 18th century[118].

After the economic transformation, this type of proletariat mainly included landless population and dwarf farms. They were also joined by members of richer peasant families, who did not inherit any land or a more considerable amount of cash[119]. At the beginning of the 19th century the landless constituted 37.2% of country dwellers. This proportion rose in the following years until in 1858 it reached half of the population employed in agriculture. Later – as a result of economic migration – the numbers of proletariat and semi-proletariat peasants in Silesia began to gradually decrease. In 1882 the group constituted 34.2% of agricultural employees in the region[120]. The shortage of local workforce in Silesian Junker estates was filled by seasonal migrants coming from beyond the eastern border of Silesia. This led to an increase of Polish-speaking population in certain regions (Upper Silesia, Silesia-Poznań borderland), causing disintegration of the existing linguistic structure of the entire Silesian regions.

Another solution to the shortage of farmhands was implementation of technological innovations which modernised the agriculture of that period. This led to a division into landowners using modern technology and peasants, particularly in Upper Silesia, who maintained traditional methods of farming.

The centralization of investment in the proto-industrial era led to the creation of workers' settlements near their new workplaces, i.e. workshops, mines and factories. Industrial hubs were forming in Silesian areas featuring deposits of coal, iron ore and ores of non-ferrous metals. It caused a migration of many recent country dwellers into such areas. The scale of the migration is reflected in the growth of population per 1km^2. In the case of Upper Silesia, the rate of population growth can be illustrated by data from 1870 and 1911. In the first period, there were 97 inhabitants per 1km^2 of the area, whereas forty years later the number grew to 168. In addition to migration, this increase was caused by a high birth rate and lowering mortality rate. Total population numbers were also influenced by

[118] J. Ziekursch, *Hundert Jahre schlesische Agrargeschichte*, p. 73.
[119] S. Michalkiewicz, L. Wiatrowski, *Historia*, p. 254.
[120] J. Ziekursch, *Hundert Jahre schlesische Agrargeschichte*, p. 73.

economic migration to fast-developing areas of Rhine-Westphalia offering remunerations higher by a third, or central Germany (Berlin). Despite the external demand for highly qualified workforce at the outset of the 20th century, the number of Upper-Silesian industrial workers exceeded 100,000. In 1907, the total number of workers in Upper Silesia was 243,000; of which 182,000 worked in the coal mining area. The majority of this group inhabited numerous housing estates provided by the factories, which did not enjoy town rights even though they resembled towns. The number of workers residing there with their families was 700,000[121]. Originating from various rural communities (Silesian or otherwise), in their new places of residence they created a kind of a cultural melting pot, characteristic of lower urban classes. Owners of mines and ironworks built areas of *familoki* (blocks of flats for workers)[122] with pigsties, which allowed them to breed pigs. Silesians moved to the vicinities of their new workplaces along with their possessions, neighbours and rural culture. The end of the 19th century saw the creation of a coalminers' and industrial workers' culture, which led to the development of the Upper-Silesian micro-region, which before World War I was considered the most socially diverse in all of Germany[123]. The direct relation between standard of living and external factors (e.g. rate of income and food prices) initially led to spontaneous movements which later took more organised forms of pressure on mine managers and administrative authorities. This gradually developed into an institutionalised form of workers' movement, based on its own ideology – and later led to the emergence of a collective consciousness of a heavy-industry working class. This constituted a process of horizontal (class-wide) identification of the proletariat[124]. While participating in various forms of organised activities, its representatives still followed the patterns developed in other German provinces (such as peasants' fellowships[125]) but also incorporated traditions developed in the more ideologically separate industrial centres.

[121] Andrzej Jezierski, Cecylia Leszczyńska, *Historia gospodarcza Polski*, 3. edition revised and supplemented, Warszawa 2003, pp. 157, 158, 192.

[122] Familok (Germ. *Familien-Block*, 'family block') – a multi-family building for workers and lower-ranking office workers employed in mines and factories, and their families.

[123] Sebastian Fikus, *Geneza Protokołu Genewskiego z dnia 20 października 1921 roku w niemieckiej historiografii i publicystyce*, PhD dissertation, Wydział Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie (=Faculty of History and Social Sciences The Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw), Warszawa 2003, p. 37.

[124] J. Chlebowczyk, *Klasa*, p. 3.

[125] *Związek włościańsk*i, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 298 of 31st December 1882, p. 2; Aleksander Świętochowski, *Historia chłopów polskich w zarysie*, part 2: *W Polsce podległej*, Poznań Lwów–Poznań 1928, p. 415.

Fleeing rural areas by the poor became a disintegrative factor. What allowed peasants to make that decision was the banning of serfdom and the impoverishment of their farms through enfranchisement. Peasants left their villages in the hope of finding employment in towns and industrial centres in Silesia as well as central western parts of Germany. This process was most noticeable in the poorest areas, as well as in Upper Silesia, where the mining and steel industry created conditions for the outflow of the poor from villages. This migrations, coupled with emigration across the Atlantic Ocean, reduced the labour force able to work in the field. It also opened the possibility of seasonal migration for the population from beyond the eastern border of Prussia, although after 1885 they were not allowed to settle permanently in Silesia. Most seasonal immigrants came from Galicia and Congress Kingdom of Poland[126], which meant seasonal increases in Polish-speaking population in Silesia. However, due to their lower social status and visible shortages in civilizational development, their influx was a disintegrative factor for the Polish population in Silesia. This led to an increased readiness of many original Silesians to adapt Prussian identity, which was additionally supported by the state's activities[127]. This process was viewed differently by the administrative apparatus, which took steps to officially block population influx. The steps were taken out of fear of uncontrolled expansion of Polish-speaking population in easternmost parts of Prussia, which included Silesia. Another disintegrative force was the language diversity among lower social classes and popularization of two opposing nationalist ideas: Prussian and Polish. In the first decade of the 20th century this very process was the driving force behind the emergence of two reciprocally hostile nationalist–patriotic movements. Lower–class Silesians used dialects of culturally diverse language groups. The most common language in the west of the annexed area was German, whereas the middle, southern and eastern parts spoke Slavic languages (Polish, Moravian, Czech). Using Polish by the local population was not equal to having ideological awareness of being Polish. Friedrich II established German as the official language by an edict issued in 1764. Also issued was ban on employing teachers who did not speak German. German was required for craftsmanship examinations. An age limit was set on non-German-speakers intending to marry. Repressions were put in place for using Polish in all schools, offices and the army[128].

[126] S. Michalkiewicz, L. Wiatrowski, *Historia*, p. 255.

[127] *Rozprawy w sejmie pruskim*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 31 of 9th Februar 1881, p. 1; Stanisław Bełza, *My czy oni na Szląsku polskim?*, 2nd edition, Katowice 1902, p. 18.

[128] M. Lis, *Górny Śląsk*, pp. 65–66.

The introduction of mandatory military service also had a disintegrative impact. From 1814 all men between the ages of 20 and 25 were conscripted. After completing their training, they were incorporated into 'defence of the country' (*Landwehr*) and were enlisted for periodic training in their original units. This obligation was binding on men below the age of 39[129]. Recruits were subjected to the German army drill. They were trained to be obedient to German officers and were taught the German language[130]. Use of Polish was severely punished. Military service was a time of instilling a certain mentality of pride for serving the country. Silesians performed their duties along the Odra but also the Spree and the Rhine. Engagement in military action was rewarded. For instance, in 1870 Emperor Wilhelm I conferred the noble title of 'Seeger von Szczutowski' on Friedrich Wilhelm Seeger, Second Lieutenant of the Second Silesian Regiment of Lancers[131]. In the country, the *Landwehrers* were a distinct social group who appointed a leader and 'threw banquets and had services' in churches, although some of them lost the ability to use the official language learned in the army[132].

The forced spread of German was not well-received by some German pastors in the 1790s[133]. In the next century the numbers of people defending the right to use Polish at home and in public began to grow. One of its precursors was Karl von Koschützky, a landowner who in 1840 submitted a petition on this matter to king Friedrich Wilhelm IV[134]. During the Spring of Nations, many commoners joined the movement. Fr Józef Szafranek made speeches on behalf of 'Polish-speaking Silesians' during rallies, whose participants used to chant: 'Long live Silesian nationality!'. After his appointment to a deputy at the National Assembly, Fr Szafranek made a statement on 24th August 1848 claiming that 'Upper Silesians are not interested in the political causes of Poles from the Province of Poznań and they are only interested in regulating language matters'[135]. However, during his term as

[129] Marek Czapliński, *Śląsk od wojen napoleońskich i reform pruskich do Wiosny Ludów*, [in:] *Historia Śląska*, ed. Marek Czapliński, Wrocław 2002, p. 285.

[130] *Korespondencye Dziennika Pozn. z Opola, 4 lipca. Opis Górnego Szląska*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 154 of 10th July 1872, p. 2.

[131] *Wiadomości urzędowe*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 81 of 9th April 1870, p. 1.

[132] *O stanie szkół elementarnych w Górnym Szązlku*, 'Dziennik Górno-Szląski', No. 37 of 11th October 1848, p. 141.

[133] Cf. Johannes Wilhelm Pohle, *Der Oberschlesier verteidigt gegen seine Widersacher*, Breslau 1791.

[134] *Racibórz, 28 września*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 226 of 3rd October 1860, p. 1. Karl von Koschützky used the practice of sending petitions for 20 years and persuaded others to do it.*Poznań, 9 stycznia*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 7 of 10th Januar 1863, p. 1.

[135] Władysław Dziewulski, *Rewolucja i reakcja na Śląsku pruskim i austriackim (1848–1850*), [in:] *Dzieje Górnego Śląska w latach 1816–1947*, ed. Franciszek Hawranek, Opole 1981, p. 122.

a deputy, his views evolved towards defence of the Polish nationality, which prompted him to become member of the Polish Club in the Assembly and identify with the national goals of Poles living under Prussian rule, also in Silesia[136].

From 1848 onwards, a farmer's son, Fr Bernard Bogedain, began to advocate the teaching of Polish in Upper Silesia after taking up post of a school counsellor in the district of Opole. He included Polish in the syllabus and encouraged Karol Miarka, one of his subordinate teachers and a 'loyal Prussian subject' to maintain Polish in the schooling system and publishing[137]. Similarly to Fr Bogedain's encouragement of K. Miarka, K. von Koschützky encouraged Emanuel Smolka and Józef Lompa, both teachers in public schools. In 1850 he undertake to publish a Polish-language magazine called 'Poradnik ludu górno-szląskiego'. Both the teachers were responsible for language aspects of the magazine[138]. Later, they both became involved in the publishing of 'Zwiastun Górnośląski' magazine and 'Katolik' magazine[139], both addressed to the Polish-speaking population of Upper Silesia. They inspired its organised activities (such as the Peasants' Society, Casino, reading rooms and Polish bookshops), intended for entertainment and furthering civilizational progress. They implemented solutions which had succeeded in Cieszyn Silesia, about which they were informed during sporadic meetings, mainly with Paweł Stalmach but also other animators of Cieszyn Silesia's Polish-speaking community. Within the historical area of Silesia, such measures took on a form of cross-border coordination of national publications and activities undertaken by publishers of Polish-language press[140]. The subscription of the Bytom-published 'Katolik' magazine in Cieszyn Silesia had an integrative influence on the Polish population of Silesia, divided by Prussian-Austrian border. Articles informing about this activity published in Polish press in the Province of Poznań[141] spread the awareness of the existence of a Polish-language community and patriotic activities beyond Silesian borders to Prussia and Austria. However, in the 1860s the activities of the

[136] Mieczysław Pater, *Szafranek Józef,* [in:] *Słownik biograficzny katolickiego duchowieństwa śląskiego XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Mieczysław Pater, Katowice 1996, p. 409.

[137] Stanisław Bełza, *Przyszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość Górnego Śląska*, Warszawa 1922, p. 17.

[138] *Berlin 28 września*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 226 of 3rd November 1860, p. 1.

[139] Józef Piernikarczyk, *Historja górnictwa i hutnictwa na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice 1936, pp. 110, 112, 114, 425–426.

[140] *Racibórz, 28 września*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 226 of 3rd October 1860, p. 1.

[141] *Do lubowników pieśni ludowych (I. Gwiazd. Ciesz.)*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 201 of 2nd September 1864, p. 1. Polish press in Cieszyn Silesia ran news 'from Prussian Silesia.' See: *Racibórz, 28 września*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 226 of 3rd October 1860, p. 1; 'Ziemianin', No. 48 of 30th November, p. 393.

Polish population faced opposition from Czech national revival groups, who acted against the strengthening Polish national awareness in Cieszyn Silesia. Those groups were reluctant towards Poles arriving in Cieszyn Silesia from Prussia and Galicia[142]. Their negative attitude took on a form of a manifesto in defence of rural and small-town Polish populace from the vicinity of Cieszyn, who allegedly did not share those attitudes and tendencies[143].

Similarly to the budding Czech nationalism in Cieszyn Silesia, it was the growing aspiration to build a German nation that limited regional Polish nationalist tendencies. Initially, they found the short-term presence of Poles from Greater Poland in Silesia to be a beneficial factor. Those arriving from the Province of Poznań initiated contact with local Polish-speaking peasants, e.g. during their stay at the agricultural school in Prószków[144]. Those practices began to wane due to decreasing numbers of agriculture students from Greater Poland caused by the opening of a similar school in the Province of Poznań (Higher Agricultural School in Żabikowo near Luboń[145]) on the one hand and including elements of national philosophy and economics in the syllabus of the school in Prószków on the other, which led to growing German national awareness[146].

Until the launch of *Kulturkampf*, Polish-speaking Catholics in Silesia could freely use it within their church, but its use began to be restricted from the 1870s. Under these circumstances, the postulate of linguistic equality became one of election slogans of the German Catholic Centre Party, which brought it many Silesian voters. However, a complete lack of the party's activity in this respect caused many to give up their support for it. The creation of the Polish Electoral Society in 1902 and its consequent participation in Reichstag elections the following year cost the Catholic Centre Party a loss of three Silesian deputies[147]. Ideological support for the advocates of empowerment of Polish speakers came from the circles of Polish university students in Wrocław, who were assisted by members of the secret members

[142] *Ciekawy zatarg*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 214 of 19th September 1869, p. 1.

[143] *Czego chce i do czego zdążać będzie <Ślązak>? Kilka słów programowych od Redakcji*, 'Ślązak. Gazeta Ludowa', No. 1 (1909), pp. 1–2.

[144] *Walne zebranie Towarzystwa Pomocy Naukowej dla młodzieży Wielkiego Księstwa Poznańskiego*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 45 of 24th Februar 1860, p. 1; *Racibórz, 28 września*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 226 of 3rd October 1860, p. 1; 'Katolik', No. 1 of 1st January 1870, p. 7.

[145] *Jubileusz 25-letniego istnienia akademii rolniczej, wykłady profesorów, obawa przed Żabikowem*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 185 of 15th August 1872, p. 2.

[146] *Ibidem*. See also: Marya Władysławówna, *Brodzińskiego pisma patryotyczne a Fichtego mowy do narodu niemieckiego*, 'Filareta. Miesięcznik kulturalny dla Młodzieży', 1 (1911), No. 9, p. 259.

[147] *Wiec polski*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 16 of 21st January 1902, p. 1; *Polacy na Śląsku a centrum*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 269 of 25th November 1903, p. 1.

of the Association of the Polish Youth 'Zet', whose members hailed from all three zones of partitioned Poland[148]. Although they achieved success in spite of counter measures launched by German state authorities and society, as well as Dioceses of Wrocław, their social and political aspirations differed so much from those of German Prussia that they led to regional disintegration. Their demands for language rights gained popularity amongst the Polish-speaking population of Upper Silesia with the support of Poles from Greater Poland, Cieszyn Silesia and western Galicia. The 1903 elections accelerated the growth of Polish national awareness and the drive for an autonomous state[149]. The disintegration of Polish national and social attitudes in Upper Silesia was deepened by the events of World War I not only due to the German Reich's economic difficulties and ultimate defeat in 1918. This process had been building up from 1915 when Polish Silesians found themselves in the Congress Kingdom of Poland along with German occupying troops. It was then that they saw for themselves to what degree the German system of state education falsified news about the Polish population and a lack of a 'high' Polish culture[150].

Summary

The main disintegrative force influencing the lives of Silesian population was Friedrich's settlement policy introduced directly after the first Silesian War of 1740-1742. Its purpose was to disintegrate and germanise the Polish population. Another crucial disintegrative aspect was the religious heterogeneity of the population of the annexed area and the needs resulting from it. Secular clergy were inclined to emphasise their Silesian roots because of their rejection of the changes imposed by Prussian authorities on the Catholic Church. These problems did not occur among Protestants, including Protestant nobility who identified itself with the Prussian ruler. However, Friedrich II's reserved attitude towards Catholics divided the Catholic nobility which led some of its representatives to make a political choice and consequently sell their properties to leave Silesia. It were only the attitudes of Protestant bourgeoisie that experienced pan-European changes stemming from social modernization after the French Revolution. The loss to Napoleon in 1806 accelerated changes in the socio-economic system of Prussia. Anti-feudal events in Silesia

[148] Wanda Musialik, *W kręgu polityki i władzy. Polskie środowiska przywódcze górnośląskiego obszaru plebiscytowego z lat 1921-1939*, Opole 1999, pp. 22, 30.

[149] *Z Górnego Szląska*, 'Dziennik Poznański', No. 63 of 18th March 1903, p. 2.

[150] S. Bełza, *My czy oni*, p. 13.

were integrative to rural communities but the transformation of feudal relations, resulting from the implementation of changes to the socio-economic system, brought about disintegration of local communities. This led to a gradual resignation from serfdom and its replacement with 'free rent', which contributed to the urbanization of provincial areas and increasing industrialization. These processes were accompanied by a crisis in craftsmanship and changes in the employment of the proletariat, leading to the creation of its clusters in and around new industrial centres. The migration initiated by their creation was a factor that contributed to the disintegration of pre-capitalist low classes, which later became the working class with its own work ethos and political goals. They ultimately culminated in the November Revolution in Berlin in 1918.

Starting from the 1870s, the Catholicism of Silesians once again sparked an acute regional disintegration as the Berlin-controlled *Kulturkampf* led to another phase of Germanization of the Silesian school system and a considerable restriction of the religious needs of the Polish-speaking population. On the other hand, the church hierarchy was dominated by attitudes of loyalty to secular authorities as its representatives identified themselves with its nationalist policy, which came to be a disintegrative factor within the Catholic community in general and in particular among Polish speakers, which led to its separatist tendencies. The linguistic diversity led some – originally rather few – members of the local Polish-speaking intelligentsia to claim language rights for those considering themselves Polish. This fight against German authorities and populace led to co-operation with members of intelligentsia from other Polish areas and a campaign to free themselves from the influence of German Catholic Centre Party in 1903. The support offered publicly by representative of Greater Poland's and all-Polish national movement in a way galvanised integration of Silesia with Polish areas. Local population was made to choose between Polish and German national identification, albeit without the possibility for accepted manifestation of their distinctiveness. The regional disintegration processes was less intensive in Cieszyn Silesia, where the sense of identity was shaped by negative assessment of the economic position achieved there by Polish immigrants with suffrage or capital, originating from Galicia. The degree of its national identification differed greatly from the awareness of national identity shown by longtime residents of that area.

Further regional disintegration of Prussian Silesia was significantly influenced by the consequences of military action taken in 1914 by Emperor Wilhelm II and the government in Berlin. Hardships were mounting in Upper Silesia as unemployment in industry increased sharply in the first period of war only to be followed by

shortage of workforce caused by conscription. In 1915 employment of miners amounted to 84% of that from before the war[151]. Their jobs in Upper-Silesian workplaces were partly taken by Polish newcomers from occupied territories of the Congress Kingdom of Poland and the Dąbrowa Basin[152]. Sending ever younger men to the front resulted in the employment of prisoners of war as well as adolescents and women in factories and mines[153]. Although this practice was widespread throughout Germany at the time and as such did not constitute a factor specific to Upper Silesia, its social impact was similar to the previous periods of immigration of Galician population to Silesia.

The appointment of Wojciech Korfanty to Reichstag in the by-elections of June 1918 was proof that a specific micro-region had formed within the linguistically diverse Silesia, with visibly contending nationalist attitudes[154]. At the end of the war in the Upper Silesia, Polish-speaking population including its lower classes, protested against the government's policies. Despite its casualties, between 1914 and 1918 Prussia increased the severity of its rigorism in enforcing the use of German and loyalty to the Prussian state. This led the Polish population to refrain from using German outside the public realm, which constituted a disintegrative factor. This was an unequivocal contestation the government-led plan to create a homogeneous society under the auspices of the Prussian state and enforce linguistic standardization within the Province of Silesia.

[151] A. Jezierski, C. Leszczyńska, *Historia*, p. 226.

[152] Edward Mendel, *Dzień powszedni na Śląsku Opolskim w czasie I wojny światowej,* Opole 1987, p. 19.

[153] Jerzy Jaros, *Historia górnictwa węglowego w Zagłębiu Górnośląskim w latach 1914-1945*, Kraków 1969, p. 30; Stanisław Adamek, *Inicjatywy społeczno-pedagogiczne na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice 1997, p. 93; S. Fikus, *Geneza*, pp. 38–39, 42–43.

[154] The Polish cultural offer for Silesia featured initiatives of immigrants from Greater Poland (Józef Chociszewski, Franciszek Chłapowski) to set up singing clubs, Association of Public Reading Room clubs and self-development clubs. See more: Elżbieta Henryka Borkowska, *Rola Wielkopolan w życiu narodowym Górnego Śląska w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku*, Gliwice 2012. Another example of comparing benefits may be the attitude of Wojciech Korfanty, see: M. Orzechowski, *Wojciech Korfanty*.

Illustration 1. The marriage from Ligota Turawska. Photo by M. Glauer. Opole ca. 1915. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 2. The woman in the regional outfit. Photo by G. Dietrich. Głogówek ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 3. A girl dressed in a regional outfit on the day of First Holy Communion. Photo by G. Dietrich. Głogówek ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

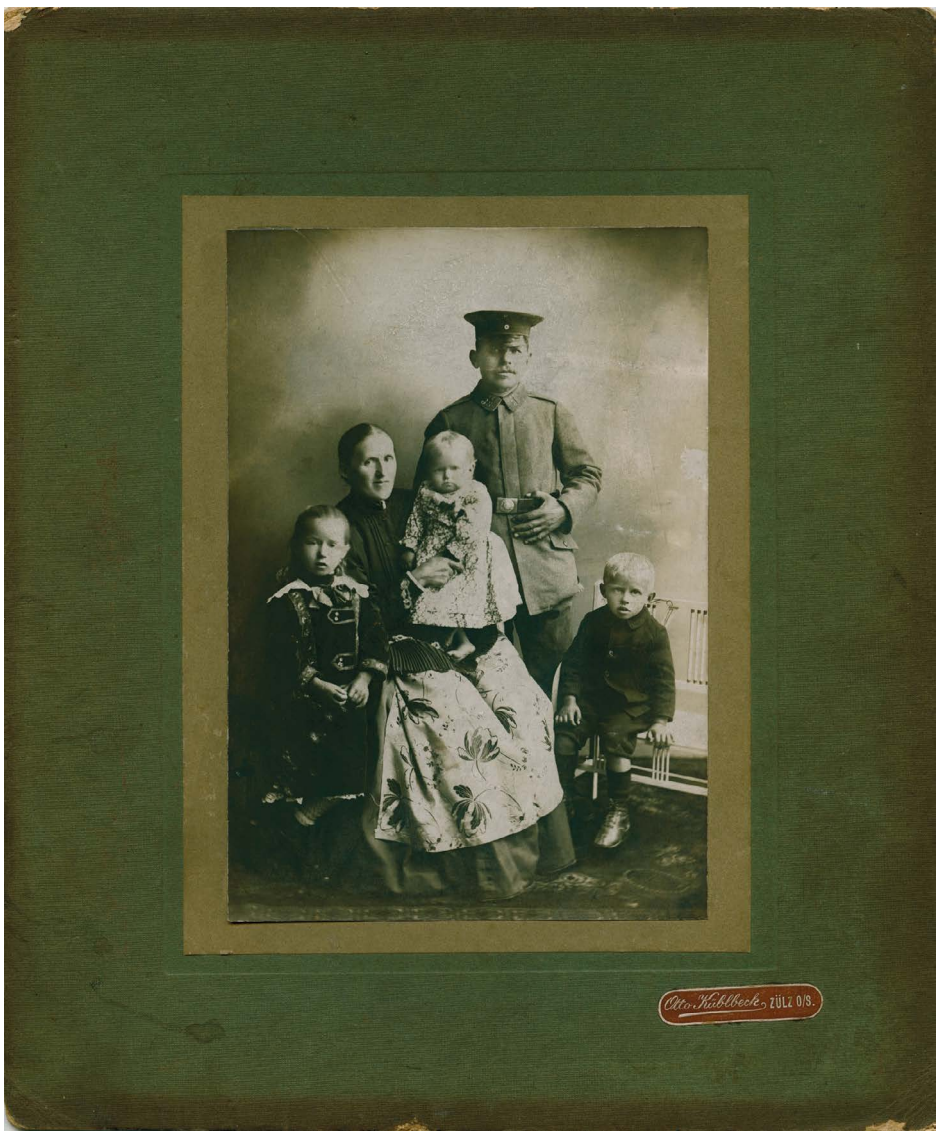


Illustration 4. The family living near Biała. Photo by O. Küblbeck. Biała, ca. 1915. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 5. The family living near Głogówek. Photo by G. Dietrich. Głogówek, ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 6. The family in the atelier. Photo by R. Mimietz. Głubczyce ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 7. The marriage in the atelier. Photo by R. Herden. Opole ca. 1898. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 8. The nun in the atelier. Photo by M. Glauer. Opole ca. 1925. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 9. The Priest. Photo by Th. Tschentschner. Mysłowice ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

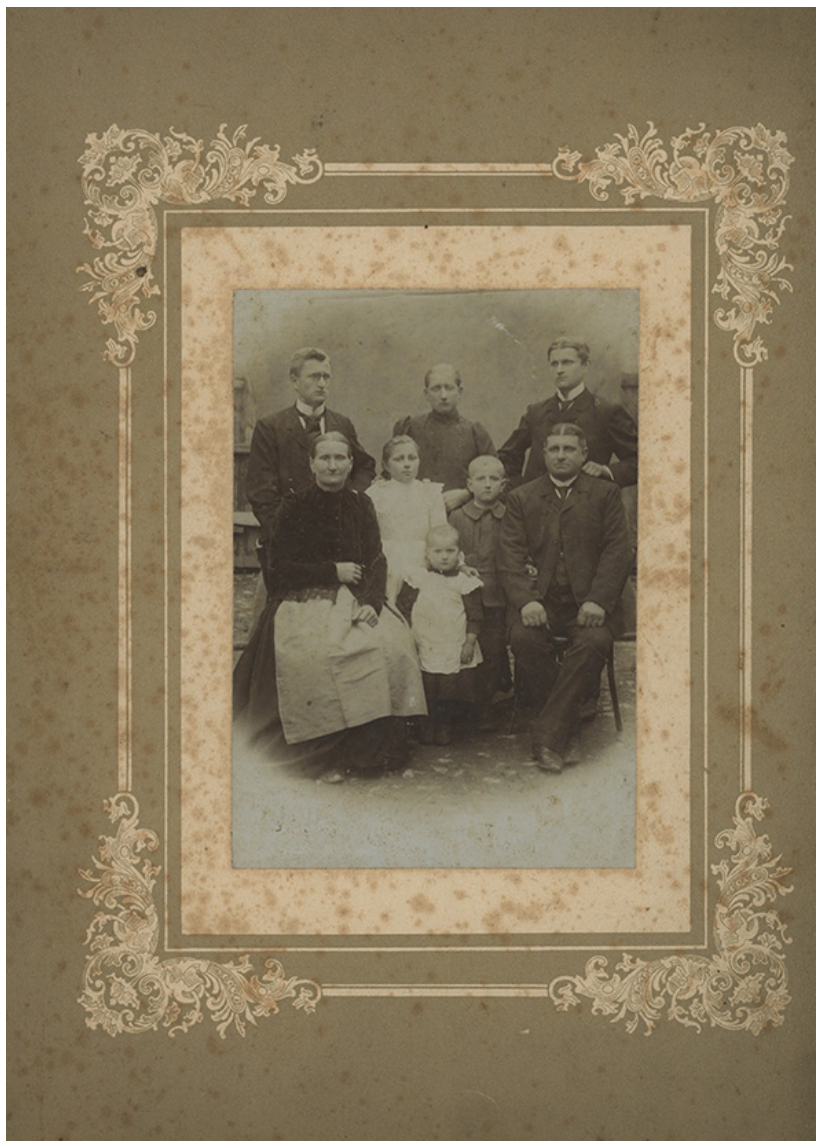


Illustration 10. The family of a farmer, who owned 27 ha. Photographer unknown. Rostkowice in County of Prudnik, ca. 1908. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers
Opole University of Technology

The ethnicity of inhabitants of the Silesian region (up to 1918)

Abstract:

This article concerns the factors which integrated or de-integrated the inhabitants of Silesia in three areas: language, noticeable ethnic stereotypes and religious denominations as this was a factor related to the ethnic issue. An analysis of source materials leads to the conclusion that the language of an ethnic group was crucial for their ethnic identity. These languages were in constant conflict with the dominant, administrative German language. The second important difference was religion. Catholics were dominant in numbers, however the authorities of the region were affiliated with the Evangelical denomination. National identity was an outcome of linguistic differentiation and confessional variety. This went along with a process of stereotyping of ethnic groups and categorisation of the two most numerous groups as Poles and Germans. Internal mobility within those existed almost exclusively in one direction, that is towards German linguistic unity within which social advancement was also possible. Both the linguistic and religious differences, as well as cultural and in customs created a divide among the denizens of Silesia. The fight for ethnic identity became a constant de-integrating factor.

Keywords:

culture, dialect, ethnicity, identity, language, religion, stereotypes

Introduction

Scholarly literature from the close of the 20th century informs us that an ethnic group is a collective whose members possess one and the same elementary cultural identity. The concept of ethnic identity is delineated by the presence of socio-territorial borders, commonly regional, as small communities foster the formation of a natural internal bond, and the result of interactions with their environment is crystallization of the paradigm "we-ours" and "they-others"[1]. An ethnic community can therefore be defined as a group of people linked by a particular type of bond whose most frequent elements are culture and the transmission of cultural patterns[2].

[1] Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and nationalism: Anthropological perspectives*, London 2002, pp. 4, 13.

[2] Janusz Mucha, *Stosunki etniczne we współczesnej myśli socjologicznej*, Warszawa 2006, p. 23. The need to popularize standard language was noticed both in countries that shaped their

Distinctness and differentiation of culture and heritage resulting from ethnic affiliation are markers of identity, with language at the fore[3]. However, in the 18th century it had not yet become the definitive sign of ethnicity, as within the conditions of an estate-based society it was rather associated with a social group. It was only with the development of the ideology of nationality that the significance of language was emphasized as a factor in creating and binding together a supraethnic community – a nation. As processes involving the modernization of the state through creation of a new political and economic order advanced, the significance of knowing one universal language increased.

Hans van Amersfoort, in his deliberations concerning the process of a state incorporating a new territory, distinguished two possible scenarios: the first involved the construction of a hierarchical society, *id est* one differentiated internally by culture, ethnicity and on the economic plane, while the second involved a top-down "fusion" as an alternative to the first model. The existing order is then (at least to some degree) accounted for[4]. As early as the 16th century, Prussia initiated the cultural (linguistic and religious) integration of Lithuanians present within the territory of the state. This did not lead to the disappearance of their cultural heritage, as their literature developed and was admired by Johann von Goethe and Wilhelm von Humboldt[5]. Friedrich II initiated a military campaign in 1740 to restore the "lost heritage" of the Hohenzollerns, which he associated unequivocally with Lower Silesia[6]. Less attention was devoted to Upper Silesia, with regard to its linguistic and religious distinctness, as well as the civilizational contrast between the two halves of Silesia[7]. Nevertheless, would it not be an overstatement to label Upper Silesia as a "foreign" region in respect of Lower Silesia? This chapter is devoted

national identity based on territory and borders (France) and those where it was shaped based on common culture (Germany). In Germany, one of the most prominent propagators of literary German language was Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803).

[3] *Ibidem*.

[4] Hams von Amersfoort's theory is discussed by Zbigniew Bokszański, *Tożsamości zbiorowe*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 86–88.

[5] He wrote a very favourable review of the translation of Lithuanian folk songs into German. For more information, see: Sigita Barniškienė, *Donelatis und Tielo – zwei Beispiele von Koexistenz der Literaturen in Ostpreußen*, 'Deutsch-litausche Beziehungen. Annaberger Annalen', No. 9 (2001), pp. 246–247.

[6] The title page of 'Schlesische Priviligierte Zeitung' featured a graphic motif symbolizing Friedrich II, surrounded by a semi-garland with escutcheons bearing the names of Lower Silesian cities.

[7] This was pointed out, e.g., by 18th-century scholar Johann Heinrich Zedler (1706–1751); due to the popularity of his publications, the origin of the myth of the Polish/German and Protestant/Catholic dualism of Silesia was sought in his works. Cf. Wojciech Kunicki, *Śląsk. Rzeczywistości wyobrażone,* [in:] *Śląsk. Rzeczywistości wyobrażone*, eds Wojciech Kunicki, Natalia i Krzysztof Żarscy, Poznań 2009, pp. 14–15.

to ethnic groups in Silesia over the period 1740–1914/1918, and the object of the analysis is comprised of integrating and disintegrating factors. Perceivable distinctness in "socially inherited and socially discerned" cultural patterns has been adopted as the marker of ethnicity[8]. Cultural patterns have been examined as something viewed subjectively by both members of a given community and those offering an assessment from the outside. In analyzing ethnic issues concerning Silesia, integrating and disintegrating factors have been reviewed in three areas: language, religion and observed ethnic stereotypes.

Slavs versus Germans

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), in travelling around Silesia in 1790, summed up his observations about the region's residents by stating that "they are far from educated people, at the end of the Reich". During the 19th century as well the region was viewed as the border dividing two worlds, one modern, the other backwards[9]. Differences were also noticed by Friedrich Albert Zimmermann, who, at the close of the 18th century, wrote very favourably of the inhabitants of the so-called 'German side', the northern and western portions of Silesia whose inhabitants' work ethic provided them with riches. The peasants there were healthy, strong, thrifty, eager to engage in hard and thankless work, loyal to the king and obedient to the nobility[10]. Those living in the Duchy of Brzeg and the Opole region were said to be morally sound, generous, thrifty and hard-working, possessed of good character[11]. Poles, explicitly distinguished from Germans in the so-called Polish (eastern) side of Silesia, were said to be lazy and spiteful. In addition, the villagers were not interested in improving their economic lot, and rural communities were beset with drunkenness[12].

Indeed, the general attitude towards the inhabitants of Upper Silesia was influenced by the contemporary negative stereotype of Slavs and their inferior cultural development. It was "a land of barbarians", "Prussian Siberia", "Prussian northern

[8] J. Mucha, *Stosunki*, p.23.

[9] Cf. Horst Fuhrmann, *„Fern von gebildeten Menschen". Eine oberschlesische Kleinstadt um 1870*, München 1989, p. 24.

[10] Friedrich Albert Zimmermann, *Beyträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien,* vol. 5, part 1: *Vom Fürstenthum Schweidniz überhaupt,* Brieg 1785, pp. 42–43.

[11] *Idem*, *Beyträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien,* vol. 1: *Das Fürstenthum Brieg*, Brieg 1783, pp. 48–49; vol. 3: *Beschreibung des Oppelnschen Kreises*, Brieg 1784, pp. 96, 205, 227.

[12] *Idem*; *Beyträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien,* vol. 2: *Falkenbergscher Kreis,* Brieg 1783, pp. 168, 206, 285, 325–326. Opinions on drunkenness would resurface throughout the entire 19th c. See : Georg Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Kattowitz*, Kattowitz 1895, p. 79.

Italy (Oberitalien)". The "barbarians" were not only the peasantry, but also nobility, who were said to treat their subjects in the same way the Russian nobility did[13]. Opinions denouncing the filth, laziness and superstitiousness of the immoral "Polish peasants" were common[14]. The source of these convictions was an unshakeable belief in ethnic differences, reinforced by an educational curriculum that frequently made use of antique texts containing negative judgements of the Slavic population. They emphasized that the population of Upper Silesia represented "an entirely Slavic type of character", which is why they eagerly and quickly marry and reproduce[15]. The women, marrying early, were supposedly too young to learn anything at all or to acquire the skills necessary to rationally and economically manage a household. Unmarried women readily sought work in mills and mines rather than conforming to expectations by becoming a servant and learning how to manage a home[16]. As a result, in the 19th century the word "Polaken" was used as an epithet[17]. Thus, regardless of territorial divisions, Silesia was seen by public opinion as splitting into two parts: the German west and Polish east. This conviction was strengthened particularly after 1871, and was based on the construction of a German identity grounded in a Germanic past[18]. In Silesia this served as an outstandingly disintegrative factor, as the western portion was considered a "native" cultural region, while the eastern half was inhabited by a "foreign" ethnic element.

Language

In analyzing issues of language, the primary difficulty of the historiography was the approach of researchers to historical linguistic issues viewed through the national lens[19]. Some scholars, applying terminology from Prussian sources, consistently

[13] F. Weidemann, *Oberschlesische Zustände*, pp. 1, 8.

[14] *Über eine wenedische Sitte des schlesischen Landvolkes*, 'Schlesische Provinzialblätter', No. 4 (1792), p. 327.

[15] Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Dieterici, *Handbuch der Statistik des preußischen Staates*, Berlin 1861, p. 198.

[16] G. Hoffmann, *Geschichte*, p. 79.

[17] Alexander Rose, *Deutsche und Polen in Oberschlesien*, Berlin 1919, p. 29.

[18] Rainer Kipper, *Der Germanenmythos im Deutschen Kaiserreich: Formen und Funktionen historischer Selbstthematisierung*, Götingen 2002, p. 13.

[19] Since both Poles and Germans shaped their understanding of the nation based on culture, their views on the linguistic aspects were similar in this respect. For example, in 1947 Polish geographer and cartographer, Prof. Józef Wąsowicz (1900–1964), praised nineteenth-century German science for its accuracy in determining the linguistic relations in Silesia. Cf. Józef Wąsowicz, *Stosunki językowe na Śląsku w świetle nauki niemieckiej*, Wrocław–Warszawa 1947, pp. 5–6. The shortcomings of terminology and research concerning national attitudes were pointed out by Ryszard Kaczmarek, *„Niemiecki nacjonalizm" – pruski patriotyzm – „polskie postawy narodowe".*

make use of phrases such as "the Polish language", "the German language", sometimes "dialect", at times *Wasserpolnisch*. As regards Prussian language statistics, the number of German-speaking residents was first determined, then the population which did not use exclusively High German at the communicative level. The category *Wasserpolnisch* was not introduced, which would have facilitated a count of the number of people not using standardized language[20]. Another issue was disagreement over precisely what *Wasserpolnisch* is, and what, precisely, Upper Silesians spoke under the reign of the Hohenzollerns[21]. It would seem that researchers engaged in work concerning the area of Austrian Silesia encounter fewer problems with the nationality aspect, which may be explained by the fact that multi-nationalism and multi-ethnicity were practiced in that region, as opposed to being suppressed in Prussia. Thus, the fundamental problem in exploring questions of language remains the necessity of using sources from a time when linguistics as a science was in its infancy. In the case of Prussia and distinctly from other German-language regions, we do not have access to a linguistic dictionary of Slavic dialects used in Silesia in the 19th century[22].

While the question of language in the mid-18th century was not regarded as central, and High German most assuredly aided Silesians in conversing with the new authorities, the linguistic imagination of Friedrich II in the religious dimension was straightforward. Churches in the Prussian state were to use High German, and forcing the use of the language on Catholic clergy as well was one aspect of bringing the Church to heel and subordinating it to secular authority[23]. This was also the motivation for decisions whose effect was to isolate Silesia from the influence of Polish lands, and the 1749 decision prohibiting clergy from studying outside the borders of Prussia. Five years later it was expanded to include a ban on pilgrimages

Problemy terminologiczne i źródłoznawcze w badaniu postaw żołnierzy pułków górnośląskich w XIX wieku, [in:] *Silesia Historica. Badania nad historią Śląska. Metody i praktyka historiografii oraz nowe poszukiwania/Forschungen zur Geschichte Schlesiens: Methoden und Praxis der Historiographie und neue Unterschunge*n, eds Sławomir Moździoch, Stanisław Rosik, Thomas Wünsch, Wrocław 2012, p. 71. Such studies were also discussed from the standpoint of national centrism by other writers, such as Grażyna Kubica, *Śląskość i protestantyzm. Antropologiczne studia o Śląsku Cieszyńskim, proza, fotografia*, Kraków 2011.

[20] In order to avoid disputes on whether the given idiom is a vernacular, dialect or even language, the author decided to use the neutral word "ethnolect" employed in linguistics. See: Jolanta Rokoszowa, *Kontakty językowe we współczesnej Polsce,* 'Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego', 59 (2003), p. 26.

[21] I decided to omit these complicated problems due to the limited scope of this text.

[22] Work began to create a Silesian dictionary, but it was finally abandoned. See : Hermann Teuchert, *Slavische Lehnwoerter in ost deutschen Mundarten*, 'Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung', 26 (1958), p. 13.

[23] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 34.

to Częstochowa[24], a move that was renewed on multiple occasions but of limited effectiveness[25]. Nearly a quarter of a century following the Silesian campaign, in the county of Wrocław in the heart of the region, there remained Catholic clergy unable to speak High German. In the second half of the 18th century the Prussian authorities took a dim view of priests without fluency in German who served in areas where a portion of the populace used the language regularly (such as Brzeg, Kluczbork, Namysłów, Niemodlin, Oleśnica or Oława)[26]. This deficit was not tolerated among pastors in the Bytom and Pszczyna deaneries, which were incorporated into the Dioceses of Wrocław in 1820.

Administrative measures were employed to increase the number of people in the general population fluent in High German. This is evidenced in the decree of Friedrich II on the common use of German in twelve counties around Lower and Upper Silesia, as far east as the counties of Niemodlin, Nysa, Grodków and Brzeg. Penalties for unfamiliarity with the language included refusal to issue a marriage certificate or to allow people to undertake employment in the city. These were particularly harsh sanctions for the lower classes[27]. Colonization was to aid German settlement and modernization of the economy of Upper Silesia. The majority of around 60,000 settlers brought in by Friedrich II wound up there[28].

In spite of Catholic priests being forced to learn German, by the end of the 18th century familiarity with the tongue among the faithful had not grown. The Dioceses of Wrocław saw a movement in the local liturgy towards the Roman liturgy[29], with the retention of the traditional share of linguistic codes, but after 1794 the regional language was used to a greater extent at the cost of Latin[30]. Another issue is that knowledge of literary Polish was poor, and was generally limited to knowledge of the vocabulary used in prayer books and the catechism, which is why some pastors used local dialects[31]. From 1789, clergymen could learn Polish, but it was

[24] Michał Lis, *Kultura na Górnym Śląsku od połowy XIX do połowy XX w*., [in:] *Przyczynek do refleksji nad kulturą Górnego Śląska*, eds Michał Lis, Zenona Maria Nowak, Opole 2011, p. 84.

[25] See: Herbert Matuschek, *Das Polnisch der Oberschlesier. Zu den Kontroversen um ein Idiom (Fortsetzung),* 'Oberschlesisches Jahrbucht', 14/15 (1998/1999), pp. 193–214.

[26] Clergymen who had no command of German ran the risk of not being granted nomination for church posts by secular authorities. Cf. J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 285.

[27] T. Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2, p. 46.

[28] G. Wąs, *Dzieje Śląska*, p. 241.

[29] Joachim Kobienia, *Muttersprachliche Elemente im Rituale. Eine Studie zu den Breslauer Dioezesanritualien von 1319 bis 1931*, Opole 2002, p. 108.

[30] *Ibidem*, pp. 109, 111. The Polish language, or rather dialects thereof, were present in sermons and church songs.

[31] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, p. 285 used the word vernacular.

felt that the possibilities to do so were inadequate in relation to needs[32]. Attempts at installing Lower Silesian clergy who spoke only High German in Upper Silesia, where the faithful did not know that language, were doomed to failure[33]. In response, religious authorities published bilingual manuals to simplify pastoral work, and which influenced the linguistic dualization of manifestations of piety among the faithful[34]. In spite of the efforts made by public authorities, however, linguistic relations throughout the second half of the 18th century evolved to only a marginal extent. Leon Dembowski (1789–1878), travelling around Silesia in the Napoleonic era, declared that "then and now the *Wasserpolen* were unable to speak German"[35].

In his description of Silesia from the end of the 18th century, following nearly a half-century of Prussian rule over the region and the application of its language policy, the previously mentioned Zimmermann described the province as divided into two main sections, where either German or Polish was the dominant language. The border between those regions ran along a line from Milicz, where German was ascendant, through Trzebnica, with its use of Polish, then Wrocław (German), Oława (Polish), Brzeg (German), Ścinawa Niemodlińska (Polish), Głubczyce (German) and on to the town of Prostějov, where Czech was the dominant language. In the villages surrounding Strzelce Opolskie and Bytom the influence of Moravian could be felt[36]. German was the main language used in Lower Silesia, while Upper Silesia – as he put it – was dominated by a "more or less spoilt" Polish[37]. High German could be encountered in spots where it remained as an artefact, such as in the towns of Rozumice, Třebom, Sudice (Protestants) and Pilszcz (Catholics)[38]. Regions adjacent to Greater Poland and along the eastern border of Silesia were portrayed as islands of Polish, reaching far into neighbouring regions. Zimmermann remarked on the phenomenon of Germanization among the younger generation of settlers in regions encompassed by the Friedrich-initiated colonization[39]. However, he did not note the reverse phenomenon – their gradual Polonization. Germanization of city dwellers also progressed, and he observed that conversing

[32] *Ibidem*, pp. 285–286.

[33] J. Kobienia, *Muttersprachliche Elemente*, p. 81.

[34] *Ibidem*, p. 82.

[35] Leon Dembowski, *Śląsk w epoce napoleońskiej*, [in:] *Polskie podróże po Śląsku w XVIII i XIX w. (do 1863)*, ed. Andrzej Zieliński, Wrocław 1974, p. 84. Cf. H. Matuschek, *Das Polnisch der Oberschlesier*, p. 201.

[36] F.A. Zimmermann, *Beyträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien*, vol. 2, p. 207.

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 217.

[38] Krzysztof Gładkowski, *Kanzel/Ambona. Protestancka wspólnota lokalna na Górnym Śląsku*, Olsztyn 2008, p. 202.

[39] F.A. Zimmermann, *Beyträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien*, vol. 3, p. 29.

in broken Polish was not the exclusive domain of Catholics. In writing about dialect (*Mundart*), he had in mind the particular form of German used in the past in Wrocław[40]. The word "Mundart" did not appear in the context of Slavic dialects. It also did not distinguish Sorbian as a language, describing it more generally as "Slavic". For Zimmerman, the adjective "Silesian" was identical to the adjective German, but when Germanesque speech was used by the common people it was possessed of a dialectal specificity. Expressions and vocabulary appeared that were not found in other regions, as well as unique pronunciation, such as the melodious accent heard in mountainous areas[41]. The German that was used nearer Lusatia, while retaining its distinctness, was more "proper"[42]. In spite of the contemporary tendency to call the speech of those living in Upper Silesia *Wasserpolnisch*, Zimmermann applies it without the negative connotations of a synonym for backwardness, making it the tongue of professional raftsmen[43]. Poles travelling around Silesia offered similar assessments to those of Germans. They wrote of the debased and Germanized Polish in use there, as well as differences in speech even in neighbouring towns, particularly in the border regions between Prussian and Austrian Silesia as well as between Silesia and Greater Poland[44]. Germans were not as critical of "their own" dialects as they were of Slavic ones[45]. They claimed that the speech of Upper Silesians was incomprehensible and that a translator was required[46]. Epithets were slapped on it such as "rauh" or "Gekraechz", among others by Johann Friedrich Zöllner[47]. Poles, for their part, complained that Polish had been devalued by "Germanisms"[48].

[40] *Idem*, *Beyträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien,* vol. 11: *Beschreibung der Stadt Breslau im Herzogthum Schlesien*, Brieg 1794, p. 190.

[41] *Idem*, *Beyträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien*, vol. 8: *Vom Fürstenthum Liegnitz überhaupt*, Brieg 1789, p. 258.

[42] *Ibidem*, p. 79.

[43] *Das preußische England... Berichte über die industriellen und sozialen Zustände in Oberschlesien zwischen 1780 und 1876*, eds Hans-Walter Dobbelmann, Volker Husberg, Wolfhard Weber, Wiesbaden 1993, p. 23.

[44] Michał Jerzy Mniszech, *Journeaux des voyages par M. le comte Michel Mnischech* [*Z Opawy do Bielska*], [in:] *Polskie podróże*, p. 38. See also : Jan Nepomucen Kossakowski, *Poznanie Śląska*, [in:] *Polskie podróże*, p. 52.

[45] Cf. Gottlieb Fuchs, *Forgesetzte Materialien zur evangelischen Religionsgeschichte von Oberschlesien*, part 2: *Reformations- und Kirchengeschichte der freyen Standesherrschaft Beuthen*, Breslau 1776, pp. 40–41.

[46] *Das preußische England*, p. 70.

[47] See : H. Matuschek, *Das Polnisch der Oberschlesier*, p. 104.

[48] A similar accusation was mady by Johann Wilhelm Pohle, Johann Gottlieb Schummel (1748–1813) and Upper Silesian pastor Johann Samuel Richter (1764–1838), who had a positive opinion on the Upper Silesian idiom. Cf. Janina Ender, *Obrońcy ludu śląskiego*, Warszawa 1956, p. 25; Jan Szturc, *Dzieje literatury polsko-ewangelickiej na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice 2006, p. 13.

Descriptions of linguistic relations at the close of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries were quite similar to one another. In the 1821 publication of "Information about the Polish language in Silesia" printed in *Mrówka Poznańska*, Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie (1768–1835) declared that the primary linguistic borders were the rivers Ostrawica, Opava and Odra[49]. He also drew attention to the shifts in linguistic relations effected by Friedrich's colonization. In the same manner as Zimmermann, Bandtkie informed readers that there were towns of both Catholic and Protestant populations where Polish remained in use[50]. Bandtkie, born in Lublin and an outstanding authority on Silesia, where he spent several dozen years[51], differentiated the Silesian dialect (or Silesian Polish) from "pure" Polish. He claimed that the border of 'linguistic correctness' was the Przemsza river, but he also admitted that there were localities near Kraków where pronunciation was similar to Silesian[52]. Scholars have largely failed to notice that Bandtkie changed his opinion of the speech of Upper Silesians. Initially he said in 1802 that "The Polish of a Silesian is Polish and nothing else"[53]. Bandtkie had more problems with Moravian and Czech influences. Indeed, he was not alone. A commission visiting Ściborzyce Wielkie in 1801 declared that it was inhabited by "Polish-speaking evangelists"[54]. Meanwhile, the people living in Ściborzyce were of Moravian descent[55]. The slow pace of linguistic change was also a product of the feudal system, which did not demand enhanced language skills and was characterized by low mobility of residents and frequent marriages from inside the community. This process led to the development of enclaves, such as Bojków (formerly Szynwałd), presently a district of Gliwice, and Gościęcin near Pawłowiczki, where recognizable linguistic remains of western German have been retained[56].

Bilingualism was relatively frequent, but only in the cities of Upper Silesia, where adoption of standard German was viewed as a means of advancing personal

[49] Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie, *Wiadomości o języku polskim w Śląsku i o polskich Ślązakach (1821)*, Wrocław 1945, pp. 13–14.

[50] *Ibidem*, pp. 15–16. At that time, three Catholic churches in Wrocław held masses in Polish, and it was also possible to participate in a Polish-speaking Protestant mass.

[51] Bolesław Olszewicz, "Przedmowa", [in:] *ibidem*, p. 7.

[52] *Ibidem*, p. 14.

[53] Jerzy Samuel Bandtkie, *Über die polnische Sprache in Schlesien*, 'Historisch-kritischen Annalecten', 1802, pp. 7–8.

[54] The report drafted by the commission was referred to in early 20th c. As cited in: K. Gładkowski, *Kanzel/Ambona*, p. 178.

[55] *Ibidem*, p. 178.

[56] See: Konrad Gusinde, *Die Mundart von Schönwald bei Gleiwitz. Eine vergessene deutsche Sprachinsel im polnischen Oberschlesien*, Breslau 1911, pp. 189–219.

interests[57]. In Lower Silesia this phenomenon concerned only lower socio-economic layers, forced to function in an environment of wealthier and dominant German users[58]. Through the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, speech reflected ethnic relations – fully in the countryside, partially in the cities. The proportion of Polish-speaking to German-speaking populations was estimated by post-war Polish historiography at 32% to 68%[59]. The number of Poles, meaning those who spoke "Polish", was estimated in 1787 at 401,900 people living around Silesia, around 100,000 of which were in Lower Silesia[60].

It would seem that after the Napoleonic Wars, judgements on people speaking Slavic dialects sharpened. In 1819, Johann Wilhelm Otto Benda (1755-1832), an ethnic Czech, lawyer and translator of Shakespeare into German, wrote in *Betrachtung Oberschlesiens* that the population there did not speak Polish, but rather a mix of Czech, Moravian, German and Polish that did not qualify as a written language. He felt that unfamiliarity with High German meant that Silesians were unable to take advantage of the wealth of high culture, and that they felt alienated in the country in which they lived[61]. On the other hand, it was clear that linguistic conversion led not only to social advancement but also a cultural shift[62]. The example of changes in linguistic relations in the space of one generation observed in the village of Karczów shows that Protestants living there at the end of the 18th century spoke a dialect of Polish, but with the systematic increase in the use of German in school and the introduction of religious services alternating from Polish one week to German the next, after a time only the older generation used "Polish"[63]. Incorporation of a part of Upper Lusatia into the Silesian province in 1815 significantly increased the German Protestant stock, but also included a large number of Sorbians, who maintained their language and traditions in villages until the

[57] Cf. H. Matuschek, *Das Polnisch der Oberschlesier*, p. 202. The very introduction of the bilingualism category was the consequence of allowig educatio in Slavic ethnolects.

[58] Cf. T. Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2, pp. 46–47. See also: J.S. Bandtkie, *Über die polnische Sprache*, p. 14.

[59] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 59.

[60] *Ibidem*, p. 59. See also: T. Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2, p. 45.

[61] Johann Benda, *Betrachtung Oberschlesiens*, 'Korrespondenzblatt der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur', 1 (1820), p. 15.

[62] The fact that linguistic conversion led to a change in the cultural and ethnic affinity was already noticed by Lucjan Malinowski in 1879. Cf. Lucjan Malinowski, *Zarysy życia ludowego na Szląsku*, [in:] *Lucjan Malinowski a Śląsk*, eds Jerzy Pośpiech, Stanisława Sochacka, Opole 1976, p. 124. See also : Józef Chlebowczyk, *O prawie do bytu małych i młodych narodów. Kwestia narodowa i procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie Środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu (od schyłku XVIII do początków XX w.)*, Warszawa–Kraków 1983, pp. 35–36.

[63] *Einführung der deutschen Sprache zu Schoenwitz*, 'Schlesische Provinzialblätter', No. 2 (1817), pp. 172–174.

beginning of the 20th century[64]. Proximity to Greater Poland influenced the survival of "Polish" linguistic colonies in Trzebnica, Oleśnica and Syców. Through the 1860s it is possible to observe a gradual popularization of standard Polish, but this process was slower than its standard German counterpart. The reason was that literary Polish had to be "imported" into Silesia. By the same token, adoption of standard High German in areas dominated by Polish dialects was met with resistance. Essentially, until the start of *Kulturkampf,* Catholic primary schools in the Opole regency provided instruction in Polish or in both Polish and German at utraquist schools[65]. Yet, as Karol Miarka (1825-1882) lamented in *The Catholic*, literary Polish was not taught in these schools, but rather just "dialects"[66]. These could also be heard in churches, but the spread of literary Polish in Silesia was undoubtedly furthered by the prayer book and hymnal publishing movement which gathered momentum in the second half of the 19th century[67]. Readership grew, yet, as Rudolf Ludwig Carl Virchow (1821-1902), who spent three weeks in Upper Silesia during an epidemic of typhus in 1848, observed, if a book was read it was nearly always a religious book[68]. Frequently it was a text in Polish, regardless of whether it had been written for Protestants or Catholics[69].

Statistics maintained by Church authorities provide insight into linguistic relations. In the 1870s, Bishop Heinrich Förster judged the population of Catholics at around 1,500,000, of which around 700,000 were said to use Slavic dialects[70]. There were very few among the faithful in the Prussian portion of the Bishopric of Wrocław who spoke Czech, and the Moravian dialect was not differentiated[71]. In the mid-19th century the Odra was still perceived as a border river. The left bank was dominated by German, particularly in cities with the exception of Krapkowice, Baborów and Hulczyn. Germanic dialects were used by villagers in the counties of Grodków and Nysa, while High German was prevalent in Głubczyce and

[64] Cf. Julian Janczak, *Dzieje stosunków etnicznych na Śląsku,* [in:] *Śląsk – etniczno-kulturowa wspólnota i różnorodność*, ed. Barbara Bazielich, Wrocław 1995, p. 26.

[65] J. Kobienia, *Muttersprachliche Elemente*, p. 82 stated the following, citing statistics for the Opole district in 1824: 199 German-language schools, 131 Polish-language schools and 282 bilingual ones.

[66] Cf. H. Matuschek, *Das Polnisch der Oberschlesier*, pp. 106–108.

[67] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, pp. 250–255.

[68] Rudolf Virchow, *Mitteilungen über die in Oberschlesien herrschende Typhus-Epidemie*, Berlin 1848, p. 13.

[69] Cf. T. Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2, p. 46.

[70] He used the phrase "slavische Sprache". See: J. Kobienia, *Muttersprachliche Elemente*, p. 59, note 55.

[71] *Ibidem*, p. 59.

Niemodlin counties as well as to a large degree among the rural population of Prudnik and Koźle counties[72].

Records from the travels of linguist Lucjan Malinowski around Upper Silesia in 1869 provide interesting insights. He observed that the population in such regions as Koźle, Rybnik, Racibórz and Pszczyna spoke a language quite similar to literary Polish[73]. It should also be mentioned that Malinowski was among a small number of researchers who did not accuse the Upper Silesians of damaging traditional Polish through use of Germanisms. Several years previously the outstanding Russian slavicist Ismail Ivanowič Sreznevskij (1812-1880), during his visit to Upper Silesia, wrote about the locals' use of "a strange half-Slavic and half-Germanic language", and required the help of a translator-guide[74]. In both of the scholars' views, Upper Silesians were an ethnically Slavic people who had lived for decades under the influence of German culture. They also observed that the German term "Slavic" denoted not only an ethnic category, but also a social one. In that respect they were seconded by the German-speaking Prussian Protestants, for whom the adjective "Polish" when applied to Upper Silesians, referred to social and ethnic identity, nor national[75]. It is difficult to identify what inspired Upper Silesians to refer to speaking "our language" as speaking "Polish" in conversations with people from outside their social group[76]. In the second half of the 19th century a linguistic divergence took place in Upper Silesia. Areas subject to an influx of Germans saw far more dynamic changes in conjunction with the search for employment than in the region that constitutes the modern-day Opole region, where mobility was virtually nil. From the 1860s, the deficit of workers in the industrialized region was balanced out by the population arriving from the neighbouring territories of the Congress Kingdom of Poland and Galicia. The new arrivals could not live in Silesia, so instead they crossed the border on a weekly or even daily basis. In 1885, their numbers were estimated at around 8,000[77]. Meanwhile, the number of foreigners seasonally arriving to Prussia (Poles and eastern Slavs such as Ukrainians, Rusyns, Hutsuls) was far larger, reaching over 19,000 in the year 1913, with nearly

[72] See : J. Wąsowicz, *Stosunki*, pp. 24–25. For the dynamics of the linguistic distribution, see also : Leszek C. Belzyt, *Pruska statystyka językowa (1825-1911) a Polacy zaboru pruskiego, Mazur i Śląska,* Zielona Góra 2013, pp. 251–307.

[73] See : H. Matuschek, *Das Polnisch der Oberschlesier*, p. 112.

[74] *Ibidem*, p. 201.

[75] R. Kaczmarek, *„Niemiecki nacjonalizm"*, p. 73.

[76] This was recorded in villages located in the Kluczbork district by Lucjan Malinowski, *Listy z podróży etnograficznej po Śląsku,* 'Na dziś. Pismo zbiorowe', 1 (1872), p. 300.

[77] This was the year of forced relocations of inhabitants of Congress Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, even such families who were living in the Prussian territory for the second generation.

8,000 of them Poles[78]. At the same time, continual migration was a feature within Silesia. In 1900, around 58,000 people from Lower Silesia inhabited Upper Silesia, and over 104,000 Upper Silesians were living in Lower Silesia[79]. Evolving economic factors redefined social ties, while migration and its effects in the industrialized regions of Upper Silesia developed the native population's awareness of its distinctness[80]. Feelings of identity were thus frequently based on negative emotions and experiences, which generated a desire to defend what people felt was "native".

It is believed than the *Kulturkampf* of the 19th century, in its drive to weed out Polish, erased the native Slavic language colonies from the right bank of the Odra Valley in their entirety[81]. However, in county of Syców, during the period leading up to World War I the number of Polish-speaking pupils was between 50% and 60% of the whole. Czech speakers, meanwhile, constituted 2% to 3.4%. Polish-speaking Protestants were the most susceptible to Germanization[82]. This is not to say that the Polish language in Lower Silesia failed to survive. Rather, the population employing it was diffuse, and the *Ostflucht* was responsible for the continual decline in its numbers. During the period 1886–1911 in county of Milicz the number of Polish-speaking children grew systematically, but in 1911 it did not account for more than 3% of all pupils, while the percentage of the Polish population was estimated at 4–5%, made up primarily of Catholic immigrants[83]. The situation in county of Trzebnica was similar. In county of Oleśnica the population of Polish speakers at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries oscillated around a mere 2%[84]. There were even fewer Poles in county of Oława, where a Polish dialect was used in the first half of the 19th century by around 20%[85]. In 1911, the proportion of Polish-speaking pupils in county of Brzeg was estimated at 3.8%[86]. During the run up to World War I, county of Góra had a Polish population of 7–8%[87]. The results of government census surveys of Wrocław residents are quite interesting. At the turn of the 19th and

[78] The source of data is Konrad Fuchs, *Gestalten und Ereignisse aus Schlesiens Wirtschaft, Kultur und Politik*, Dortmund 1992, pp. 98–100.

[79] *Ibidem*, p. 98.

[80] See: Miroslawa Błaszczak-Wacławik, *Miejsce i rola regionalnej kultury w procesach życia społecznego zbiorowości Górnego Śląska do roku 1945*, [in:] *Górny Śląsk, szczególny przypadek kulturowy*, eds Mirosława Błaszczak-Wacławik, Wojciech Basiak, Tomasz Nawrocki, Warszawa 1990, p. 10.

[81] J. Wąsowicz, *Stosunki*, p. 22.

[82] L.C. Belzyt, *Pruska statystyka*, pp. 323–324.

[83] *Ibidem*, p. 315.

[84] *Ibidem*, p. 319.

[85] *Ibidem*, p. 321.

[86] *Ibidem*, p. 310.

[87] *Ibidem*, p. 313.

20th centuries, the Polish-speaking population in Wrocław was growing rapidly. Teresa Kulak estimates their numbers at between 40,000 and 50,000, which would represent roughly 10% of the population at the time[88]. Broadly, at the beginning of the 20th century the Wrocław regency was home to around 90,000–95,000 Poles, while the Legnica regency boasted 17,000–18,000 of them[89].

In summary, it can be said that during the Prussian era in Lower Silesia there was a radical drop in the number of people using dialects of Polish and literary Polish. German dialects also died out and were replaced by standard High German[90]. Interestingly, Czechs belonging to the reformed Church and living in Lower Silesian villages displayed a strong attachment to their language. In respect of the Opole regency, statistical research shows that during the last half-century of the Prussian state's existence there was a growth in the number of Polish speakers. In 1910, literary Polish and dialects of the language were used by 65% to 66.2% of the population[91]. Statistics maintained by schools inform us that in 1912 the native language for 26.6% of primary school pupils was German, for 70.1% it was Polish, and for 3.2% it was Czech[92]. The diverse linguistic evolutionary paths of Upper Silesia have previously been mentioned. Apart from the Polish-German mixture, standard Polish was used in industrial centres. It would seem that this resulted from several factors, primarily the general spread of literacy and the use of numerous Polish libraries and reading rooms. Women, who were generally less educated than men and had a poorer command of German, eagerly consumed Polish-language literature[93]. As anthropologic studies have demonstrated, this was likely due to their "better" literary language. The use of standard speech was an element of urban culture, but one which was observed more by women than by men[94], who acquired language skills for pragmatic reasons. As contemporary studies have shown, the language used by a new generation depends exclusively on the actions

[88] T. Kulak, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2, p. 446.

[89] See: L.C. Belzyt, *Pruska statystyka*, p. 329.

[90] Cf. Hugo Hoffmann, *Die Lautverhältnisse der Mundart von Lehmwasser Kreis Waldenburg in Schlesien*, 'Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mundarten', 1 (1906), pp. 316–344.

[91] Cf. L.C. Belzyt, *Pruska statystyka*, p. 306.

[92] *Ibidem*.

[93] Differences in using the language by men and women were already observed in mid-19th c. by lawyer Georg Ludwig Friedrich Hundrich (1784–?). He noticed that women spoke German less frequently than men. Georg Ludwig Hundrich, *Nachrichten über die polnischen und andern außerdeutschen Sprachberhältnisse in der Provinz Schlesien, besonderes im Bereiche des Oberlandesgerichts zu Breslau*, 'Übersicht der Arbeiten und Veränderungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur im Jahre 1843', 1844, p. 57.

[94] Cf. Sara Delamont, *Appetities and Identities. An Introduction to the Social Anthropology of Western Europe*, London–New York 1995, p. 204.

of mothers[95]. They were thus the ones responsible for maintaining a dialect in the family, or for rejecting it in favour of standard language.

We know that the arrival of intelligentsia from Greater Poland and Pomerania to the industrialized Upper Silesia brought with it literary Polish, while readership of press published in proper Polish also increased. Dialects were retained primarily in rural districts far from industrialized regions, including a part of the modern Opole region. The functioning of numerous dialects of the Silesian language led to the disintegration of the region into a collection of micro-regions[96]. This analysis leads to the conclusion that linguistic relations during the era of Prussian reign over Silesia evolved into a continually disintegrating factor. It was no accident that the borders of the area encompassed by the 3rd Silesian Uprising reached as far as the demarcation line of Polish dialects in the Upper Silesian region.

Confessional relations

After the takeover of Silesia, the situation of Protestantism underwent a transformation, from being a tolerated Church in Lower Silesia and a persecuted one in Upper Silesia to being the dominant confession. This was a significant change for evangelicals, who constituted a majority in Lower Silesia. Meanwhile, they represented a diaspora in Upper Silesia, where native Protestants were primarily from the peasantry and they mainly spoke Slavic dialects. An exception was the Evangelicals of Pszczyna (both city-dwellers and court servants), who spoke mainly German. German-language Protestantism grew in strength throughout the whole of Silesia during the Prussian era, most visibly in Upper Silesia. The number of Protestants there grew mainly as the result of immigration of civil servants, qualified labourers and investors (bourgeoisie). This process led to the Evangelical faith in Upper Silesia being perceived in terms of its ethnic and national aspect, and to reinforcement of the conviction that Protestantism is imminently linked to Germanness while Catholicism is Polish, which in turn generated linguistic imbalances in the two confessions. Prior to the outbreak of World War I, Upper Silesia was home to 1,152,483 Polish-speaking Catholics, around 600,000 German-speaking papists and 86,000 bilingual ones[97]. During the same period, the membership of the

[95] *Ibidem*, p. 207.

[96] See: Jolanta Woś, *Zmiany w słownictwie gwarowym Kamienia Śląskiego w województwie opolskim*, 'Filologia Polska. Językoznawstwo', 5 (2004), (=Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, pp. 153–154.

[97] *Ibidem*, p. 134.

Evangelical-Uniate Church accounted for just 8.5% (187,751) of all the residents of Upper Silesia[98].

The Union Church (*Unionskirche*) was unable to provide a sufficient number of clergymen competent in Slavic languages, thus services were conducted in German even for congregation members who were not ethnically German. The phenomenon of linguistic dualism was enhanced by the approach adopted by the Catholic Church, which, in spite of the push for the use of German, decided to divide parishes along language lines, manifesting itself in the second half of the 19th century in the form of territorial parishes being divided into language parishes[99]. Upper Silesian clergymen sought to avoid conflict by consenting to a fragmentation of congregations and to "servicing" them in various languages. The prevalence of the Polish-language element meant that German-speaking Catholics not only had a smaller number of services and celebrations of their own in pilgrimage destinations[100], but also that they were simply less visible. The *Kulturkampf* accelerated the process of Polish-language sections of secular organizations separating themselves from diocesan structures, justifying the observation that the Silesian community of the faithful found itself split into two groups which perceived themselves as distinct[101]. This led to the factual disintegration of Silesia into sub regions dominated by Catholics with expressions of multilingual piety (songs, pilgrimages, associations, etc.).

Nevertheless, it would seem that the perception of Upper Silesian society as a Catholic monolith was not associated with the marginal number of Protestants in the region, but rather with the absence of Protestantism in the public sphere. Earlier, during the period of Habsburg re-Catholicization, the architecture of Silesia was wiped clean of traces of evangelism, creating an impression of Catholic

[98] Henryk Czembor, *Kościół ewangelicki na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1919-1921*, [in:] *Kościoły i związki wyznaniowe a konflikty polsko-niemieckie na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1919-1921*, eds Zbigniew Kapała, Jerzy Myszor, Bytom 2005, p. 48–58.

[99] The typical European parish was a territorial one, covering all its inhabitants. The alternative model of a "national" parish, encompassing the same area, yet people of different nationalities, only concerned regions populated by Catholics of the Armenian and Greek Rite. (For more information see: James Bjork, *Inadvertent Allies: Catholicism and Regionalism in a German-Polish Borderland*, [in:] *Region and State in Nineteenth-century Europe. Nation-building, Regional Identities and Separatism*, eds Joost Augusteijn, Eric Storm, London 2012, p. 253. (I would like to thank Guido Franzinetti for drawing my attention to this publication).

[100] The linguistic division in pilgrimage sites was described by Jan Górecki, *Pielgrzymki na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1869–1914*, Katowice 1994, pp. 30–31.

[101] Breaking off ties with central authorities by the organizations resulted in the inability to benefit from privileges, such as obtaining indulgence. Cf. Dorota Kurpiers, *Towarzystwo św. Wincentego w biskupstwie wrocławskim i na Ziemi Kłodzkiej (1848-1914)* [in printing].

homogeneity. However, during the Prussian era there was no overarching concept of architecture or the construction of temples that would point to the provenance of a sacral structure. The Jewish community, in contrast, made a strong mark in the architectural landscape of Silesia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. It should also be recalled that Catholicism could be experienced in collective, public spaces. Ceremonies, pilgrimages and processions could be held outdoors. If Protestant services were held outside, they were generally in places associated with times of persecution, and therefore largely inaccessible[102].

The average Silesian was wary of those professing different faiths. Confessional disintegration resulted in conflict between the two leading religious congregations, which in turn led to depreciation of regional identity. In the 1820s, Johannes Anton Theiner stated that aversion to other religions was stronger in Upper than in Lower Silesia[103]. At the same time, he admitted that occurrences of hatred (Theiner used precisely this word rather than a weaker expression, such as distrust) towards those of other faith communities could be encountered in Lower Silesia as well. Through the 1870s there were accusations thrown around of *prosalytenmacherei*, i.e. aggressive proselytizing. This was a characteristic of the colonization initiated by Friedrich II, when mainly Protestants were sent to Upper Silesia. The locals were resentful of the new arrivals' alternative religious identity and the better economic conditions bestowed upon them.

The conviction that Upper Silesia is a Catholic land also fostered the image of the region as dominated by Polishness. The Catholic Centre Party was unsuccessful in promoting the idea of the Prussian sharing a confessional identity with an Upper Silesian while retaining an ethnic distinctness. *Kulturkampf* imbued social consciousness with the image of the Prussian as an ethnic German and a Protestant, as well as the conviction that there were no native Protestants in Upper Silesia[104]. It was no coincidence that assimilated Jews adopted Protestantism more frequently when converting, as they identified it with the German nationality[105]. Religions functioned as a socially disintegrating factor in Upper Silesia. It made no difference that ethnic and linguistic divisions did not map directly onto religious differences.

[102] Such masses were described by K. Gładkowski, *Kanzel/Ambona*, pp. 239–250.

[103] Johannes Anton Theiner, *Freimüthige Äußerungen über den sittlichen und kirchlichen Zustand Oberschlesiens: allen, welche sich mit diesem Lande näher bekannt machen wollen*, Breslau 1826, p. 22.

[104] See: K. Gładkowski, *Kanzel/Ambona*, pp. 181–182.

[105] *The emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants: Minorities and the nation state in nineteenth-century Europe*, ed. Stephan Wendehorst, Manchester 1999, p. 129.

Conclusions

The incorporation of Silesia into the Prussian state was linked to its residents being classified as "locals" and "outsiders", and as those worthy of trust versus those who could not be entrusted with posts in public administration owing to fears of residual loyalty to the "old" Austrian authorities. The local Polish-speaking community became the target of depreciation as a lower-order ethnic group, portrayed as lazy and immoral. The literature on the existence of language communities in Silesia is notable for its broad generalizations and simplifications regarding the use of terms like "the Polish language", "the German language", "Poles" and "Germans". Residents' ethnicity was diverse and classified on the basis of language; the authorities' efforts to enforce the use of German were also noted.

Over the course of the 19th century, education and reading influenced the spread of both literary German and Polish. The rejection of dialects, however, was associated with the acceptance of high Polish or German culture, and with the adoption of a national identity. It therefore entailed the end of local-based perceptions of self-identity related to one's village, city or town. In circumstances where German was the preferred language and the use of that tongue was associated with social and economic advances, discarding non-German dialects was equivalent to a conversion and transfer to another national group. This was far easier for Protestants than for Catholics. Commercial contacts and migrations influenced the speed of changes taking place in the way Silesians spoke, leading to significant internal differentiation of the region and enhancing its disintegration. The linguistic divide in this region was inadequate in reflecting confessional differences. Regions with "the purest Polish dialect" were populated by both native Catholics and Protestants. In the same manner, proper German was used by both Protestants and Catholics living in the diaspora in Lower Silesia. Nevertheless, the numerical advantage and greater presence in the public sphere enjoyed by Catholics in Upper Silesia and Protestants in Lower Silesia meant that the region was not perceived as a unitary whole. Religion evolved into a significant disintegrating factor.

Germans and Poles made use of high culture in developing their identities, shunting aside regional cultural heritage. This is why Silesian ethnicity was unable to enter into the phase of becoming a nation, as groups which had previously begun to construct their national identity "adopted" the new Slavic/Germanic ethnicity as their own to the extent it suited them. *Kulturkampf* began in the 19th century to determine linguistic and confessional identification, as well as the internal division of the regional community. It hindered the potential for Silesians to unite within

one community possessing the features of a nation. The process of stereotyping inherited from previous eras continued to advance, and both the press and other publications reinforced the perception of Silesians through "black–white" or "us–them" constructs. It is no accident that the idea of a Silesian as an ethnic Silesian, rather than Pole or German, is associated with the regions where the greatest mix of ethnicities was present, which in turn prevented the development of conceptions for uniting ethnic groups within the territory of the region. The battle over ethnic identity thus turned into a permanently disintegrating factor.

Teresa Kulak
University of Wrocław

The issue of national and cultural identity among residents of Silesia in the period 1741–1918

Abstract:

An analysis of identity issues of German and Polish-speaking denizens of Silesia in the years 1741– 1918 indicates that both communities existed in a national-cultural dichotomy which was destructive for the region. The entire period under consideration does not seem to contain significant instances of close cooperation, initially due to lack of equivalent economic strength, cultural position and class structure on the Polish side. The identity of the German-speaking population was determined and derived from political and socio-economic processes in the region. On the other hand Polish-speaking Upper Silesians, initially feudal peasants and town plebeians were undergoing a long process of gaining national identity, starting with local communities, through Prussian patriotism and finally Upper Silesian patriotism, which was based on their attachment to their land as well as their dialect, religion, tradition and customs. Only at the end of the 19th century there appeared a small group of people with distinctly Polish national identity, among those were immigrants from Greater Poland and Pomerania as well as local intelligentsia, they formed the notion of unity of Silesia and the entire Polish nation. Germany's defeat in World War I made Silesia's partition possible and a part of it became one with Poland, however among the reasons for this division one must note a constant national-cultural dichotomy between the dwellers of the region.

Keywords:

Silesia, Wrocław, cultural identity, national identity

Analysing the cultural identity of residents of the Silesia region provides the possibility of exploring a wide range of research issues, as it involves communities living at the border regions of Polish, Czech, Austrian and Prussian-German lands analysed in recent decades by numerous researchers and interpreted in different manners. The plethora of borders in the region is reflected in the influences exerted by many different cultures, yet this was most visible in the language of its residents, along with their feeling of membership in various ethnic and religious groups. While Silesia was inhabited by Czechs, Moravians and Jews, joined in 1815 by Sorbians, the region was dominated primarily by two large national communities – German- and Polish-speaking – and two faiths, Catholic and Protestant[1]. Each

[1] According to the census of 1905, Silesia was home to 2,765,450 Catholics, 2,120,369 Evangelicals, 46,845 Jews and about 10,000 people of other Christian denominations as well as non-religious.

of these communities experienced the formation of a collective identity, visible in the diversity of behaviours and the manners in which they related to tradition and heritage. Taken from this perspective, the cultural identity of each group – as Wojciech Świątkiewicz notes – "… can be expressed most generally as maintaining the continuity of fundamental values and their hierarchy, as well as the primary sources and content of systems legitimizing the entirety of the obviousness characterizing the social world"[2]. Interpreted as the regional identity of social groups in Lower and Upper Silesia, it confirms the historically shaped traditions and continuity of experiences arising during both internal group interactions and those with neighbouring regions and ethnic groups. The range and nature of these contacts during the period 1741–1918 was historically and relationally in flux, revealing the multidimensional social and cultural heritage of the Silesia region. An attempt at defining the factors shaping the content of social life and at determining their role in the creation of new aspects of regional cultural identity is presented here through analysis of selected issues setting out the attitudes and behaviours of residents of Silesia, as well as manifestations of their ties with the region during the period of its submission to the rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty.

The Prussian era (1740–1870)

The acquisition of Silesia by Friedrich II led to a decomposition of the existing group and territorial identifications held by subjects of the Habsburgs. A culturally alien element appeared in the ruling caste, which was ethnically and religiously foreign to a significant portion of the region's residents[3]. The changes primarily affected two social groups – the nobility and the bourgeoisie – as the peasantry toiling in feudal servitude only felt them when their taxation and military levies were assessed[4]. The difference in the positions within the two leading estates emerged when it came to Silesia's decision as to state loyalties, whether to join Prussia or remain with Austria, and it demonstrated the fundamental difference in attitudes between Lower and Upper Silesia by shifting the focus of attention to confessional matters.

[2] Wojciech Świątkiewicz, *Tożsamość kulturowa - ujęcie socjologiczne,* [in:] *Tożsamość kulturowa mieszkańców starych dzielnic miast Górnego Śląska*, eds Wojciech Świątkiewicz, Kazimiera Wódz, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, p.14.

[3] See: Robert Szwed, *Tożsamość a obcość kulturowa. Studium empiryczne na temat związków między tożsamością społeczno-kulturalną a stosunkiem do obcych*, Lublin 2003, pp. 45–46.

[4] K. Orzechowski, *Historia,* pp. 227–229.

The negative experiences of the Habsburg counter-reformation motivated the majority Protestants in Lower Silesia to accept the new rulers, which was expressed in the pact concluded between the Wrocław bourgeoisie and the king of Prussia on 3 January 1741, as well as the tribute paid by the nobility on 7 November[5]. Meanwhile, the Catholicism of Upper Silesian residents distanced them from the new rules to such an extent that as late as during the Second Silesian War (1744–1745) aid was provided to Austrians with faith being placed in the Habsburgs' return, to save them from "Prussian slavery"[6]. The elites of both halves of Silesia were co-opted by the king owing to the preservation of existing privileges and material benefits, primarily lower taxes and exemptions from military levies, which were then shifted to the peasantry and city dwellers. As a result, the nobility and aristocracy became loyal supports of the throne, while Lower Silesia's bourgeoisie took a different position, as their regional identity was based on centuries of commercial activity trading on a global scale[7]. Conscious of being deprived of the right to municipal self-government and their previous social and material position, and also aware of the visible decline in Silesia's status in commercial exchange, they were opposed to the rule of Friedrich II. The role of the bourgeoisie was rather limited in Upper Silesia, where feudal ownership was the norm in private, small cities. The regional perspective was also not present in the ethnically Polish rural population, internally oriented and living in servitude. For this reason, its ethnic and cultural distinctness did not play a significant role, but in relation to Prussian authority the peasantry was turned off by the ruthless collection of taxes and the hated compulsory military service, which often led young men to escape across the border[8]. The social discontent with rule of Hohenzollern which fermented and grew over the course of a half-century led Silesians in 1806 to reject solidarity with their rulers and refusal to fight against the divisions of Napoleon's *Grande Armee* then entering Silesia under the leadership of Jérôme Bonaparte.

This politically and socially damaging internal opposition of "us and them", meaning the mass of Silesian residents and Prussian authorities, was significantly changed by the Stein-Hardenberg Reforms and by the bestowing of citizenship rights on the bourgeoisie. It was with their participation in 1813 that a patriotic atmosphere of a war of liberation was fostered during the victorious battle with Napoleon. The war, which concluded in 1815, served to enhance integration among

[5] W. Długoborski, J. Gierowski, K. Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia*, p. 582.
[6] *Historia Śląska*, vol. 1, part 3, pp. 491–492, 502.
[7] H. Freymark, *Schlesiens Bedeutung*, pp. 8–9; *idem*, *Schlesiens Wirtschaft*, p. 8.
[8] C. Grünhagen, *Die Einrichtung*, pp. 16–18.

German residents of Silesia, developing belief in their "unbreakable bonds" with Prussia and the German Reich[9]. The regional space, previously underappreciated by many as only a small number of educated city dwellers displayed awareness of a regional identity, became an important fragment of the common state space following the conclusion of the war. Emerging political changes affected attitudes towards the ethnic and cultural distinctness of the Polish population, primarily in Upper Silesia, provoking efforts aimed at cultural homogenization within the newly-formed Silesia province, established in 1816. Representatives of the urban population had already observed the particular linguistic distinctness of its residents[10], who, deprived of upper social strata since the Middle Ages, had functioned within an incomplete social structure limited to the feudal peasantry and urban plebeians. After the Napoleonic Wars, the educated classes in Silesia began to voice stronger criticisms of their spoken language, mockingly labelling it *Wasserpolnisch* and treating it as a "diluted" form of Polish. Observing that the process of their assimilation, resulting from the obligation to learn German contained in a 1764 edict of Friedrich II, was not generating the expected results, they strove to impose a top-down standardization of the language. This was to be facilitated through a uniform Prussian primary school system in cities and rural communities, as well as enforcement of the compulsion to attend school. In 1826, the Upper Silesian educational system underwent language reform, while evangelical communities in Lower Silesia living in what were called the "Polish counties"[11] were subjected to a prohibition on the use of Polish books in schools. New books in German were distributed free-of-charge to pupils following parents' refusals to purchase them[12]. The number of Polish religious ceremonies was also successively restricted in evangelical parishes, most frequent in and around Brzeg, Oława, Oleśnica, Wrocław and the Silesia-Poznań border region. During the 19th century, linguistic relations within those areas were successfully transformed as a result of the principle observed by Protestants of obedience to the orders of the supreme authority (*Obrigkeit*). The erasure of the Polish language was treated as a civilizing measure to cultivate German high culture, out of a feeling of responsibility for the cultural quality of the

[9] Josef Partsch, *Schlesien an der Schwelle und am Ausgange des XIX. Jahrhunderts. Festrede an der Hundertjahrfeier der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur am 17. Dezember 1903*, Breslau 1903, p. 3.

[10] For more see: W. Kunicki, *Śląsk*, pp. 17–26.

[11] The counties named in the edict: Syców, Trzebnica, Milicz, Wołów, Góra Śląska, Ścinawa and the eastern portions of Namysłów, Oleśnica and Środa Śląska. Also, Lubin, Kożuchów, Zielona Góra and a part of Żagań and Szprotawa.

[12] Teresa Kulak, *Problemy demograficzne i narodowościowe Dolnego Śląska,* [in:] *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna,* ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006, pp. 399–400.

immediate surroundings[13]. A similar process was imposed on Sorbians and Czech adherents to the Reformed Church. The authorities' demands were also met by the Jewish population, which submitted voluntarily to assimilation and acculturation[14], which led to its schooling receiving equal legal status as that of Christian education. The totality of the initiatives mentioned here were of a continual nature and grounded in the ideology of an ethnic nation formed by a community of language. This ideology appeared in German society at the beginning of the 19th century as a "project of the future"[15], as it did not yet constitute a unified state. Meanwhile, within Prussia the concept of a Prussian nation failed to take shape[16], but the inhabitants of Silesia frequently labelled themselves Prussians.

It is obvious that the Protestant German population identified itself absolutely and unconditionally with Prussia and Silesia. The establishment of the province provided an impulse for society to take an interest in internal matters concerning the Silesian region within the new administrative structure of three regencies: Wrocław, Legnica and Opole, whose borders served to impose a territorial framework on various scientific and cultural initiatives. One particularly important decision for the scholarly community was the transformation of the Wrocław-based Society for the Culture of the Fatherland, founded in 1803, into a Silesian association (*Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur*), which facilitated the concentration of the entire intellectual elite within its specialist sections; this, in turn, served to reinforce its regional individuality[17]. The development of the populace's self-identification and support for Silesian identity was also shaped significantly by the 1811 founding of the Royal University of Wrocław. Arguments reinforcing views on regional identification were supplied by historical scholarship, taking its first steps as a university discipline and performing not only a scientific and education function, but also a political one. In the second half of the 19th century, other politically useful disciplines were born out of history, such as geography and ethnography[18]. Owing to the efforts of Gustav Adolf Stenzel, professor at the

[13] Adam Galos, *Polskość Śląska w XIX w. w świetle niemieckich materiałów statystycznych*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów Śląska*, ed. Ewa Maleczyńska, vol. 2, Warszawa 1956, pp. 1–39.

[14] L. Ziątkowski, *Między niemożliwym*, pp. 196–197.

[15] Richard Koselleck, *Struktury federalne a kształtowanie się narodu w Niemczech*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 17–18.

[16] Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, pp. 381–382.

[17] Mattias R. Gerber, *Die Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur (1803-1945)*, Sigmaringen 1988 (=Beihefte zum 'Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau', vol. 9).

[18] Teresa Kulak, Mieczysław Pater, Wojciech Wrzesiński, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski 1702-2002*, Wrocław 2002, p. 68.

University in 1820–1854 and director of the Provincial Archives in Wrocław, in 1846 the Society for [Research on] Silesian History and Antiquity (*Verein für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens*); this initiative led in 1858 to an initiative for the construction of a Museum of Silesian Antiquities. Stenzel was engaged in the composition and publishing of manuscript sources, and through his own scholarly achievements "imposed his own vision of the history of Silesia on successive generations of scholars", particularly his assessment of the German colonization. He injected into the public consciousness the highly salient notion that it constituted "the civilizational Europeanization of the periphery" of the continent, and "was beneficial to the Polish population living there"[19]. In light of the relatively recent wars, his writings were aligned with the contemporary conviction of Silesians emphasizing the particular "mission of Silesia in world events" to perform the role of "either a peaceful intermediary, or a field of battle" between the east and the west of Europe. Many also felt affinity with the declaration that only upon Silesia's entry into the orbit of Friedrich II did it "achieve the place the natural order had reserved for it". Indeed, it had become an important part of the Prussian state, which had in turn – following the acquisition of its territorial and demographic potential – entered the club of European superpowers[20]. This mystified and laudatory self-image, referencing a long and poorly-defined time period, in practice contributed to reinforcement of the conviction of the historical "entrenchment" of the Prussians and the Hohenzollerns in Silesia, as well as the dynasties affiliated with them. It was forgotten that only after three wars conducted by Prussia against Austria was a treaty conclude in 1763 that cemented its subservience to the Prussian crown.

Until the construction of the first railway lines in the 1840s, Upper Silesia essentially remained in isolation from the remaining parts of the province. It is generally agreed that this isolation lent itself to "the maintenance of the local language and conservation of the tradition" of indigenous communities[21]. Polish-speaking

[19] Marek Cetwiński, *Jeszcze raz o „paradygmacie Stenzla*", [in:] *Silesia Historica. Badania nad historią Śląska. Metody i praktyka historiografii oraz nowe poszukiwania/Forschungen zur Geschichte Schlesiens: Methoden und Praxis der Historiographie und neue Unterschung*en, eds Sławomir Moździoch, Stanisław Rosik, Thomas Wünsch, Wrocław 2012, pp. 33–39. See also: Hermann Aubin, *Gustav Adolf Stenzel und die geistige Erfassung der deutsche Ostbewegung*, 'Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau', 6 (1961), pp. 57–64.

[20] Teresa Kulak, *Pojęcie ojczyzny w świadomości Niemców na Śląsku w XIX-XX wieku (do 1939 r.),* [in:] *Pamiętnik Powszechnego XV Zjazdu Historyków Polskich*, vol. 3: *Małe ojczyzny na kresach II Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Przemysław Hauser, Gdańsk–Toruń 1995, p. 34.

[21] Aleksander Posern-Zieliński, *Akulturacja i asymilacja – dwie strony procesu etnicznej zmiany w ujęciu antropologii i etnohistorii,* [in:] *Procesy akulturacji/asymilacji na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim w XIX i XX wieku*, eds Witold Molik, Robert Traba, Poznań 1999, p. 61.

inhabitants retained their cultural distinctness, which flowed from linguistic and religious factors[22]. The status of the latter, historically Polish factor was to be reduced by the administrative decision to subordinate the Silesian diocese of the Catholic Church by separating it from Gniezno[23], taken a few years after the 1817 unification of the Protestant churches. At the time, Upper Silesia's numerically largest group was undoubtedly the population of those speaking Polish dialects, with its own cultural identity and own conception of its history and homeland[24]. Awareness of these values was a barrier separating them from the Germans who ruled over them; in effect, there were two distinct communities whose linguistic and national divide aligned with the social one. Poor knowledge of German among the working class was doubtlessly a barrier in the process of modernizing and industrializing Upper Silesia. However, the arbitrary actions of administrative authorities, requiring that the local population master desirable linguistic abilities, turned out to be difficult in implementation. Pressure exerted by the authorities, however, reinforced the dichotomist "deepening divide" of the Upper Silesian population[25]. The "alienness" of the Prussian rulers evolved into a permanent category in Upper Silesian social and national relations[26].

The first organized efforts in the region on behalf of Polish as a language began to take shape in 1848, when the Spring of Nations brought a short-lived freedom of the press and of association in Prussia, as well as elections to the National Assembly in Berlin and the Frankfurt Parliament (*Frankfurter Nationalversammlung*). Bytom was home to the first Polish newspaper financed by Galicia, the *Upper Silesian Daily*, the National Club, and an initiative by the teacher Józef Lompa, known as the Society for the Education of the Upper Silesian People. In June, 200 prefects were appointed from 9 Upper Silesian counties, representing around half a million residents, who adopted a resolution petitioning the authorities to introduce Polish in schools, law courts and state administrative offices[27]. After

[22] According to a census of 1850, Prussian Silesia was inhabited by 3,304,800 people, including 666,666 Poles, 54,777 Czech and Moravians, and 32,581 Sorbians. According to the census of 1861, this number had grown to 3,390,695, with 719,316 Poles, 58,679 Czechs and Moravians, and 32,357 Sorbians.

[23] J. Myszor, *Duchowieństwo*, pp. 21–22.

[24] See: Norbert Bonczyk/Bończyk, *Stary kościół miechowski: obrazek obyczajów wiejskich w narzeczu górnośląskiem*, Bytom 1883; *idem*, *Góra Chełmska, czyli Święta Anna z klasztorem oo. Franciszkanów. Wspomnienia z r. 1875*, Wrocław 1886.

[25] Piotr Madajczyk, *Obcość jako wyznacznik powstawania i funkcjonowania granic etniczno-narodowych na Górnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Górny Śląsk wyobrażony: wokół mitów, symboli i bohaterów dyskursów narodowych*, eds Juliane Haubord-Stolle, Bernard Linek, Opole–Marburg 2005, p. 111.

[26] M. Czapliński, *Der Oberschlesier*, pp. 81–91.

[27] *Rok 1848 w Polsce. Wybór źródeł*, ed. Stefan Kieniewicz, Wrocław 1948, pp. 181–184.

it was presented in Berlin by the parliamentarian and provost of Bytom, Fr. Józef Szafranek, it was then rejected on 24th August by the *Landtag* (Prussian Parliament) owing to the desire to form a linguistically unitary state. The feeling of an ethnic bond emerged as a mobilizing force driving organization efforts, as after the elections in 1849 the Upper Silesian parliamentarians Szafranek and peasant Marcin Gorzołka joined with counterparts from Poznań and Western Prussia (Western Pomerania) to form the parliament's first Polish Club. These events were of deep significance for the peasant class, which took part for the first time in a campaign against the government that was organized legally and highlighted their linguistic needs. The post-revolutionary reaction shattered their initiative, and from among the postulates advanced in 1848 by Upper Silesians the only one to gain acceptance was instruction in Polish in Catholic folk schools. After the appointment of Otto von Bismarck as the Prime Minister of Prussia, this was limited in the Opole regency in 1863 to the teaching of religion.[28]

Essentially, from 1850 Silesia experienced a relaxation of social tensions as a result of the passage of a constitution, and primarily after the promulgation of the regulation and reluition act. This marked the definitive conclusion in Prussia of the long process of enfranchising the peasantry and of liquidating the relicts of the feudal era in the countryside. It also signified a change in the peasantry's social status through the individual selection of employment and the potential for acculturation in the urban environment. In the course of capitalist industrialization, "many villages were converted into settlements for labourer-peasants, with their unique culture that accommodated a mix of remnant peasant traditions with elements of the culture of professional groups" of workers labouring in mines and mills[29]. At the close of the 19th century, the outskirts of large cities dominated by Germans who had come to industrialized areas saw the emergence of working-class neighbourhoods with the characteristic traditions of the "familok" culture. They were inhabited by villagers who had "brought the habits, customs, speech and dress of their homelands". This fact, coupled with their Catholicism, meant that in spite of the growing industrialization and expansion of the working class, the political activity of the socialist movement laboured for a substantial time to make headway among the Upper Silesian proletariat. In the counties of Racibórz and Rybnik there were "well-off farmsteads" whose owners and families "remained

[28] Jolanta Kwiatek, *Górnośląska szkoła ludowa na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Opole 1987, pp. 20–29.

[29] Maria Lipok-Bierwiaczonek, *Etnograficzny obraz Górnego Śląska*, [in:] *Historia Górnego Śląska. Polityka, gospodarka i kultura europejskiego regionu*, eds Joachim Bahlcke, Dan Gawrecki, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Gliwice 2011, p. 374.

loyal to the traditions of Silesian folk culture"[30]. Rural regions, however, were far behind industrial regions in terms of social and political transformations. These changes were also visible in the differences in language between rural and urban communities, with the latter using far more German terms, primarily technical jargon[31].

Internal transformations in Prussia were accompanied by a favourable economic climate, and Silesia also heard the triumphalist echoes of three victorious Prussian wars from the period 1864–1871, in which the peasant population – as did other Prussian subjects – participated. Emancipation from feudalism led to an accommodating attitude towards the monarch, with peasants most frequently referring themselves as "natives", "subjects of the Prussian king" or Upper Silesians[32]. Their awareness should be understood as a feeling of indigenousness and a sort of subregional identification, analogous to the status of the Upper Silesia subregion within Silesia. Their Prussian patriotism did not equate to identifying with High German and Prussians, nor to abandoning their own characteristics. Ethnic Poles knew they were not Germans, that they were distinguished by language, religion, and also by visible differences in their places in the social hierarchy. They also did not engage in conscious reflection on their membership in an indigenous community[33]. Feeling a bond with their native soil, they turned Upper Silesia into their fatherland. As he understood these circumstances quite well, from 1869 Karol Miarka used the pages of *The Catholic* to express the spirit of Upper Silesia's connection to Prussia while not failing to address the issue of its cultural and historical ties with the Polish nation[34]. Caution, however, was required in this effort, and not only out of fear of the censor, but also because, as Fr. Karol Pressfreund put it, "the Upper Silesian peasant speaks a Polish tongue, but his heart holds Prussian blood," and he would object to being called a Pole[35]. The Polish-speaking Upper Silesians did not feel affinity for the label of Pole[36], as they associated it with the poverty and

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 377. They were considered the hope for national rebirth by Stanisław Bełza. See: Teresa Kulak, *„Czem będziemy bez Górnego Śląska". Górnoślązacy w publicystyce Stanisława Bełzy (1849-1929)*, [in:] *Ślązacy w oczach własnych i obcych*, ed. Antoni Barciak, Katowice–Zabrze 2010, pp. 254–255.

[31] See: Stanisław Głąbiński, *Ludność polska na Śląsku*, 'Wędrowiec', 17 (1882), p. 277.

[32] T. Kulak, *Wizerunek Ślązaka*, pp. 106–107.

[33] Arka Bożek, *Pamiętniki*, Katowice 1967, pp. 44–45.

[34] Mieczysław Pater, *Polska myśl polityczna na Górnym Śląsku w XIX wieku*, [in:] *Polska myśl polityczna na ziemiach polskich pod pruskim panowaniem w XIX wieku*, ed. Sławomir Kalembka, Warszawa 1988, pp. 79–107.

[35] From: L. Malinowski, *Listy z podróży*, p. 303.

[36] Tomasz Falęcki, *Więź ogólnonarodowa i regionalna w świadomości powstańców śląskich 1919-1939*, [in:] *Pamiętnik Powszechnego XV Zjazdu Historyków Polskich*, vol. 3: *Małe ojczyzny na*

backwardness of those living in the Congress Kingdom of Poland and Galicia arriving in search of work. They felt civilizationally superior, with a sense of pride in the fact of their residence in Silesia, which had a strong impact on regional patriotism.

This was not, however, the only reason why internal ties and group solidarity were lacking among the working class; another was the competition in the search for work brought by those migrating to the region. They contributed to the suppression of wages in the industrial area. Employers exploited them in disputes with local labourers, both reducing wages and extending working hours, which led many Upper Silesians to leave Silesia[37]. The ideological attitudes of men were shaped by military service, whose influence was extended into civilian live through membership in soldiers' unions: reservists (*Landwehrvereine*) and combatants (*Kriegervereine*). During gatherings and state ceremonies, their leaders attempted to build an emotional bond linking members with the Hohenzollern dynasty and Prussian army. It is believed that "longer membership in them accelerated the processes of assimilation and acculturation"[38]. Over the longer term, it may have led to integration with the state and an inevitable withdrawal from the Polish ethnic and linguistic group.

A distinguishing characteristic in the private and group behaviours of Polish-speaking Upper Silesians was a fervent piety that held the clergy in particularly pastoral high esteem and endorsed its role as the leader of the parish community. Dialect was the primary marker of their identity, but in the Catholic schools priests taught standard Polish, and this language was also employed during church services. The issue became a political bone of contention as the clergy became increasingly Germanized owing to its links to the new Centre Party of German Catholic origin, which in Silesia was supported by the diocesan Church hierarchy. It was precisely under the influence of the clergy that, according to Jan Jakub Kowalczyk, the people of Upper Silesia "came to consider themselves as subjects of their Prussian king, unto whom they were under a holy duty to render what was Caesar's and to the Church and God what was God's. This was the teaching of the priests, whom they listened to as a trusting and devoted child listens to its father, and they regarded all other murmurings as the temptations of an evil spirit"[39]. Under their

kresach II Rzeczypospolitej, ed. Przemysław Hauser, Gdańsk–Toruń 1995, p. 47.

[37] Andrzej Brożek, *Robotnicy górnośląscy wobec migracji robotniczych z Galicji i Kongresówki*, 'Zaranie Śląskie', 4 (1961), pp. 775–786.

[38] Witold Molik, *Procesy asymilacyjne i akulturacyjne w stosunkach polsko-niemieckich w XIX i na początku XX wieku. Stan i postulaty badań*, [in:] *Procesy akulturacji/asymilacji*, p. 89.

[39] Jan Jakub Kowalczyk, *Ci, co przygotowali odrodzenie Górnego Śląska*, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (= The Library of Ossoliński National Institut), Manuscript, Signature

patronage, an effort was made to wall the common people off within the borders of regional traditions and local religious bonds, organizing song clubs (*Caecylienvereine*) and parish societies. The community of the confessional and the involvement of priests gave the Catholic Centre Party a monopoly on political influence in Upper Silesia lasting nearly four decades (from the first universal elections to the parliament of the North German Confederation (*Norddeutscher Bund*) in 1867) owing to its capture of the Polish-speaking electorate, particularly in the countryside. The incorporation of this arrangement into state and nationalist paradigms was a sign of its durability. Environmental and social factors facilitating the voluntary assimilation of ethnically Polish residents of Upper Silesia were strengthened by the political element grounded in the confessional community. Leon Wasilewski assessed the effects of those process, writing that "national awareness did not make significant progress, as the feeling of Silesian unity with the rest of Poland weakened"[40].

In the German Reich (1871–1918)

Germans of the day were most certainly unaware of the tight coupling in the Upper Silesia subregion of the language question with the Catholic faith and the political position of the Catholic Church within the state. Meanwhile, at the same time as the founding of the German Reich, in 1871 state authorities instigated a years-long battle with the Church, restricting its pastoral activity and depriving it of the right to teach in schools, including teaching religion in Polish, which was of particular importance to Catholics[41]. Polish-speaking Upper Silesians felt discriminated against and experienced a crisis of trust towards the Prussian authorities[42]. Turning to regional values and selecting the Catholicism they felt closer to, they found themselves in conflict with Prussian patriotism. Although it was no easy matter for them to refashion their habitual ties, in the end their loyalist attitude was weakened. In later years voluntary assimilation and acculturation, previously encouraged by the clergy, came to a halt. At the time, contemporary observers of Upper Silesian social relationships noted that *Kulturkampf,* which was an attack on the Catholic faith and on the most dearly held values of the Polish populace, was a decisive moment in the process of their

13202/II, p. 2.

[40] Leon Wasilewski, *Śląsk polski*, Warsaw 1915, pp. 65, 71; T. Kulak, *Wizerunek Ślązaka*, pp. 108–109.

[41] L. Trzeciakowski, *Kulturkampf,* p. 20. See also: Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, pp. 496–501.

[42] J. Bahlcke, *Śląsk*, p. 121.

gradual acquisition of national awareness[43]. However, for Silesian society as a whole, *Kulturkampf* was a significant disintegrating factor against a confessional and national backdrop, created at the initiative of state authorities during a period when Germans generally experienced a feeling of pride owing to the unification of the state.

The battle for universal suffrage in the Reich during the period 1867–1871 and the efforts of the newly-formed Catholic Centre Party to gain the votes of the Polish-speaking population provided it with a strong boost. The wars fought by Prussia in the period 1864–1870 had awoken interest in political events and boosted press readership. *Kulturkampf* was a turning point due to the manner in which religious discrimination was accompanied by persecution of priests and Germanization of the school system from 1872. The years 1879–1880, a time of catastrophic flooding and crop failure, were the next phase in the new and intensifying process of internal socialization of Polish-speaking Upper Silesians, as well as expansion of horizons beyond the region of one's residence. Poles from the Russian and Austrian partitions provided them with significant financial and food aid, rescuing them from the starvation and indignities of the years 1846–1847[44]. It may be assumed that, accompanied by the political experiences coming on the heels of the unification of Germany, Upper Silesians felt a gradually growing sense of linguistic and confessional community that extended beyond their region. This was maintained and enhanced by pilgrimages to Częstochowa, as well as journeys to Kraków, Poznań and Gniezno.

The extent to which the process of acquiring this awareness advanced could differ, which is why these phenomena both polarized and disintegrated the Polish-speaking residents of the subregion. The community's nearly universal literacy provided a tremendous opportunity for imbuing it with a national consciousness, as it facilitated the reading of Polish press and literature[45]. At the same time, however, the state school system systematically boosted knowledge of German and expanded the sphere of influence exerted by German culture. Entry into this sphere, which was a relatively easy thing in urbanized and industrialized areas, was equivalent to social and economic advancement. However, this implied the

[43] Such as Bolesław Limanowski, *Odrodzenie i rozwój narodowości polskiej na Śląsku*, Warszawa 1911, p. 68.

[44] Stanisław Bełza, *Początki narodowego odrodzenia Śląska*, [in:] *Warszawa Śląskowi. Odczyty publiczne*, Warszawa 1920, p. 20. See also: Maria Wanda Wanatowicz, *Społeczeństwo polskie wobec Górnego Śląska (1795-1914)*, Katowice 1992, pp. 48–49.

[45] The situation was different in Lower Silesia, where the Polish-speaking population only knew Szwabacher.

necessity of abandoning the Polish-speaking community, as climbing the social ladder in Silesia was "essentially the same thing as Germanization"[46]. Cristopher Clark observed that "Being a Polish subject of the Prussian crown was a difficult fate, but being a Polish German was a contradiction in and of itself"[47]. The Prussian authorities demanded "total assimilation" and "definitive acceptance of German culture"[48]. Affirmation of national feeling and social affinity became a matter of simultaneous political and personal choice, requiring reflection and decision – either strengthening and expanding ties with Germanity, or acceptance of local ties with the Polish-speaking community. As a result of these undertakings, at the close of the 19th century the previous implied regional bond gradually transformed into an ideological one[49].

In the era of the imperial Reich, internal integration of German inhabitants of Silesia with the state and the Hohenzollern dynasty, as well as acceptance of the new political order that followed the German unification were expressed by such acts as the mass funding of monuments to the victory over the French (erected as *Siegesdenkmale* or *Siegessäule*), and participation in the annual commemorations of the victorious battle of 2nd September 1870 at Sedan[50]. At the same time, their identification with the Silesia region was reinforced due to the appearance of a new ideology propagated by the movement to protect homelands (*Heimatschutz*)[51]. The enthusiasm generated by this movement led to the development of a network of social and state institutions supporting regional and local identities, assigning them an important ideological and political role as well as a broad scope of public functions. The administrative term 'the Province of Silesia' was spatially and ideologically fused with the concept of the regional Silesian fatherland (*Schlesische Heimat*), while the Legnica, Wrocław and Opole regencies received equivalents in the form of geographical subregions: Lower, Middle and Upper Silesia (*Niederschlesische-, Mittelschlesische-* and *Oberschlesische Heimat*). They were given the

[46] Eugeniusz Kopeć, *„My i oni" na polskim Śląsku (1918-1939)*, 2nd edition revised and supplemented, Katowice 1986, p. 153.

[47] Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, p. 503.

[48] Arno Herzig, *Die Herausbildung eines deutschen Nationalismus in Schlesien im. 19. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Przełomy w historii. XVI Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich. Pamiętnik*, vol. 1, Wrocław 2000, p. 251.

[49] Stanisław Ossowski, *Analiza socjologiczna pojęcia ojczyzny*, [in:] Stanisław Ossowski, *Dzieła*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1967, pp. 210–226.

[50] Bernard Linek, *Sedantag – święto narodowe cesarstwa niemieckiego na Górnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Górny Śląsk wyobrażony*, pp. 179–190.

[51] This issue is best discussed by Joanna Nowosielska-Sobel *Od ziemi rodzinnej do ojczyzny ideologicznej. Ruch obrony stron ojczystych (Heimatschutz) ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska (1871-1933*), Wrocław 2013.

label "the nearer Homeland" (*engere Heimat*) to differentiate them from the Silesian homeland as an entire province. However, this phrase was also applied at times to describe the relation between Silesia and the Reich or Prussia, which were referred to as the *Vaterland*. A new state hierarchy took shape, in which Prussia was also incorporated into a common ideological German fatherland. In this established order priority was rather given to regional ties, which can be understood from the words of the geographer, ethnologist and University of Wrocław professor Josef Partsch, who wrote that "In German hearts everywhere, the conviction took root that the most important element of our patriotism is love of the nearer homeland (*zur engeren Heimat*) and the belief in its particular value as a member of a greater whole (*Vaterland*). The continuation of this state, and the cultivation of the identity of every tribe and every province, is the pillar of the entire future for not only spiritual wealth, but also a peaceful internal balance, security and the greatness of our entire German homeland"[52].

Partsch was the creator of the Silesian *Landeskunde*[53], a discipline of regional geography which formed in Germany at the same time as the movement for defense of the region, and it assumed a political significance beginning in the 1880s. The province of Silesia saw its introduction into educational programs in primary and secondary schools, as a set of information about Silesia in the past and its place in the modern world[54]. Although the contents of the handbooks, the so called *Heimatbuchs*[55], blended the teaching of history and geography of the province, they also included some aspects portraying the Polish context. One example is Heinrich Adamy's provincial geography textbook, the popularity of which is attested by its 33rd edition, updated in 1910. In regards to the Piast dynasty's past, it mentioned the past "ignorance [caused by] »polnische Wirtschaft«" and underlined the later German colonization successes in the area of the "Slavic East". The conquest of Silesia by Friedrich II was to effect the "rescue and re-emergence of Germanhood", and the Polish language border was moved from Middle Silesia to Upper Silesia. But, in order to dispel any doubts, it adds that "many local villages and most cities still have a genuinely German quality" (*kerndeutsches Gepränge*)[56]. Friedrich's colonization was treated as a "return of the settlers" and "taking back many German towns from

[52] J. Partsch, *Schlesien an der Schwelle*, p. 11.

[53] *Idem*, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde*, vol. 1; vol. 2: *Landschaften und Siedlungen,* Breslau 1911.

[54] For example: Fedor Sommer, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde als Grundlagen für den Unterricht*, Breslau 1897; *Schlesische Landeskunde. Geschichtliche Abteilung*, ed. Friedrich Kampers, Leipzig 1913.

[55] See: J. Nowosielska-Sobel *Od ziemi*, pp. 534–556; Bogdan Cimała, Jolanta Kwiatek, *Heimatkunde w szkołach na Górnym Śląsku do I wojny światowej*, [in:] *Regionalizm, kultura i oświata regionalna*, eds Bogdan Cimała, Jolanta Kwiatek, Opole 2010, pp. 117–129.

[56] Heinrich Adamy, *Geographie von Schlesien*, 33th edition, eds Artur Scheer, Erich Scheer, Schweidnitz 1910, pp. 104–105.

the Polish element that had taken them over", when Germans emigrated from them because of "intolerable" living conditions[57]. Generally, the textbook stresses the opposition to "Polish elements", and actually excludes them from the Silesian society in a paragraph evaluating their character. It states, following Gustav Freitag, that, among other character traits, Silesians are "industrious, like all Germans" [58]. No such research has been done until now, but it seems that the contents of the *Heimatbuchs* were neither ideologically neutral nor scientifically proven, but were definitely meant to indoctrinate the students.

Josef Partsch treated Silesia as the hinterlands of the Prussian state, situated "at the end of the western world", where the "hostile world, not European anymore, but half-Asian" began[59]. The regional homeland was defined by the common language of its inhabitants, the same habits and customs. The commonality of the rules of its spiritual life was strengthened by the confessional bond and the internal bonds of homeliness that emerged in the process of cohabitation and cooperation within a regional community. The feeling of identification with it was intensified by the pride of its current achievements, implicating the will to know its past, and acquiring knowledge of the "famous deeds" of its past members. Partsch considered this knowledge to be extremely important, as it made the Silesians conscious of the feeling of regional "inveteracy", allowing for psychological identification with the Silesian land. Partsch also described in his work the regional space of national identification[60], but the list of designates that constituted the Silesian region should be considered to be postulated. In reality, it did not reflect the imagination of a homogenous commonality of its inhabitants, nor about the homogeneity of customs, not to speak of confessional bonds. First and foremost, Upper Silesia stood out, as there the December 1890 census noted 1,577,731 inhabitants, of which 58.2% declared Polish as their native language, 35.9% declared German to be theirs, while 2.1% declared themselves as bilingual. Also, in Lower Silesia (in the Wrocław and Legnica districts), the farmers inhabiting the left side of the Odra river was considered Polish, and the area was still sometimes described as a "Polish country" or "Polish area" (*Polackengegend*)[61]. It did not change the common assumption that the province was entirely German, as by law since 1876 the official and school language

[57] *Ibidem*, p. 105.

[58] *Ibidem*, p. 106.

[59] J. Partsch, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde*, vol. 1, p. 24.

[60] This is explained by Heidi Hein, *Region jako punkt wyjścia do badań nad kwestiami narodowymi. Znaczenie mitów, symboli, rytuałów i kultów,* [in:] *Górny Śląsk wyobrażony*, p. 39.

[61] J. Partsch, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde*, vol. 1, pp. 427–430. See also: H. Adamy, *Geographie*, pp. 105–106.

was exclusively German. "Progressive fluency" was noted in the use of German by the peoples living in the district of Opole and the border between Silesia and the Grand Duchy of Poznań, in the Sorbian area of Hoyerswerda and Rotenburg, as well as the County of Kłodzko and the surroundings of Strzelin, inhabited by Czechs[62]. It was also stated with full conviction that, regardless of ethnic and linguistic differences, the identity of these people was "truly Silesian, truly Prussian and proudly wore the royal colours" of black and white[63]. In order to relativize the linguistic distinctiveness of the Upper Silesians, Partsch noted that even Germans differed in their speech and customs, e.g. ones from the Barycz Valley differed from those in the Opole region or the Sudetes Mountains[64].

Despite such optimistic assessments backed by the growing political, economic and military potential of the German Reich, fears of further impacts of the problem of nationality emerged. Regardless of the Germanization efforts made by the state, schools, churches of both denominations and the military, Polish identity in Upper Silesia not only persevered, but also strengthened its cultural potential in the last decades of the 19th century. Germans saw its manifestations as an artificial process created by harmful "Greater Polish agitation", caused by the actions of Polish intelligentsia from the Province of Poznań[65]. Indeed, from Greater Poland, as well as from Pomerania, came lawyers, doctors and journalists, whose employment options, as Poles, were limited[66], and who found in Upper Silesia a source of income, as well as appreciative conditions for social and national work. This intelligentsia – as stressed by Leon Wasilewski – played a major role in the further development of national identity in Upper Silesia. All these members of the intelligentsia, raised in provinces that still had fresh national and state traditions, brought with them to Upper Silesia a feeling of Polish identity of a different kind than the consciousness of provincial and ethnic distinctiveness of the Upper Silesians"[67]. By strengthening the bonds of Upper Silesia with the other lands of the Prussian partition, this intelligentsia led to the overcoming of their regional limitations. It also indicated linguistic and organizational needs, trying to meet the expectations of the Polish community. Precedence in this momentous process was taken by Karol Miarka, hose *The Catholic* magazine had organized the worker community in Bytom since the 1870s. In his work, he connected the struggle

[62] F. Sommer, *Schlesien*, p. 66.
[63] *Schlesien: ein Bekenntnisbuch*, ed. Schlesischen Bund für Heimatschutz, Breslau 1919, p. 18.
[64] J. Partsch, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde*, vol. 1, p. 372.
[65] This is discussed in detail by E.H. Borkowska, *Rola Wielkopolan*.
[66] See: Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, p. 508.
[67] L. Wasilewski, *Śląsk*, p. 111.

against Germanization with attempts to better its livelihood and working conditions. He also came up with ways for the workers to participate in cultural and societal life. Miarka and the then-few other members of the Polish intelligentsia that had arrived there from outside Silesia – according to Marek Czapliński – "slowly but effectively convinced the Silesian that it was worth being a Pole, and that the Polish language does not need to be a synonym for worse living conditions and cultural deprivation." [68] The newcomers represented a higher social status, and were different in their lifestyle, attire, behaviour and attitude towards Germans. At first, they were "alien" to the Upper Silesians, but them later blending into the local community was at the same time a process of creating a kind of group solidarity. Within less than twenty years, the editorial staffs of magazines, including the most popular *The Catholic*, taken over by Adam Napieralski, as well as *Nowiny Raciborskie* and *Gazeta Opolska*, became organizational centres of Polish life as well as providing a foothold for the trade union movement and economic institutions, substantially increasing the socialization of the Polish people. The Polish community, later reinforced by the immigration of petty bourgeoisie from Greater Poland and Pomerania (tradesmen, merchants, apothecaries, cosmeticians) at the brink of the 20th century, ceased to be what previously amounted to a mass of workers and farmers. Heavy industrialization favoured the diffusion of cultures, as well as strengthening bonds with one's own ethnic or social group – when socialists started to organize their official party structures after 1890. The process of crossing over to the German national group also continued, especially among the educated, and therefore those of higher social status.

Generally, however, the national and political situation in Silesia became more strained due to the anti-Polish policies of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, which led in 1885–1886 to the deportation from the Prussian partition of 32,000 of Poles and Jews originating from Galicia and the Congress Kingdom of Poland that did not have German citizenship[69]. The end of *Kulturkampf* is connected with the appointment of Bishop Georg Kopp (since 1893 a cardinal) in 1887 to the Diocese of Wrocław. Kopp initiated a campaign in Upper Silesia of erasing the Polish language from religious services and songs[70]. The Catholic Centre Party, although supported by the votes of the Polish electorate, did not respect their interests. After the government ceased its fight against the Catholic Church, it did not protest the official anti-Polish

[68] M. Czapliński, *Adam Napieralski*, p. 19.

[69] Ch. Clark, *Prusy*, p. 506.

[70] Mieczysław Pater, *Centrum a ruch polski na Górnym Śląsku (1879-1893)*, Katowice 1971, p. 127.

policies, allowing the advance of a "soft Germanization". Because of this, the political paths of the Centre and the Polish Upper Silesians began to diverge. The party also saw a split into the conservative wing, headed by Cardinal Kopp, and the popular wing, headed by Major Juliusz Szmula, who proposed that electoral lists include candidates that spoke the Polish language[71]. This was also the stance of *Nowiny Raciborskie*, which in 1893 postulated the end of electoral cooperation with the Centre, thinking that the Polish people should be represented in the parliament by Catholics from Silesia who spoke Polish.

The 1890s were also key to the development of national identity of the Polish Upper Silesians, as, in parallel with the role of the Reich in the world, there was also a visible increase in nationalistic tendencies among the German population, as evidenced by the Silesian branches of national organizations such as the Pan-German League (*Alldeutscher Verband*, 1892) and the Navy League (*Deutsche Flottenverein*, 1898). The German Eastern Marches Society (*Deutsche Ostmarkenverein*), which was created in Poznań for the purposes of destroying Polish national identity, known as Hakata among the Poles, was perceived as the most dangerous one, and was introduced in Silesia in 1895. The lack of defence of Polish-speaking citizens on the part of the Centre led to division among the clergy, and the emergence of a faction willing to support the believers in their national struggles. A Polish national wing also appeared in the Catholic Centre Party, with Adam Napieralski and Fr. Aleksander Skowroński[72]. Under the influence of these events and national processes, the societal life of the Polish community intensified. Choirs, amateur theatres and libraries flourished, leading to an increase in readership of Polish press and historical novels. In 1895, "nests" of the Gymnastic Society *Sokół* appeared, and at the beginning of the 20th century, people started to wear *Sokół* uniforms, as well as bracelets and rings with the Polish white eagle "ostentatiously"[73]. With the growing knowledge of the literary Polish language, the feeling of connection with the Polish nation grew.

The struggle of the Polish movement for emancipation from the influence of the Centre, which began in 1893 with the editorial staff of *The Catholic*, is known from many papers, including ones mentioned here. It accelerated in 1901–1903, when it was taken up by the young generation of local Polish intelligentsia connected with

[71] M. Czapliński, *Adam Napieralski*, pp. 42–43, 48–49.

[72] Maria Wanda Wanatowicz, *Ks. Aleksander Skowroński jako przykład narodzin i rozwoju polskości ideologicznej na Górnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Śląsk w myśli politycznej i działalności Polaków i Niemców w XX wieku* (part 2), eds Danuta Kisielewicz, Lech Rubisz, Opole 2004, pp. 171–184.

[73] Marian Orzechowski, *Narodowa Demokracja na Górnym Śląsku (do 1918 roku*), Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1965, pp. 28.

the all-Polish National League (*Liga Narodowa*) [74]. From the point of view of social and national stances, it should be noted that the struggle was fought on two mutually overlapping planes – Polish-German and within the Polish camp. The former, although much more heated, was always present in Upper Silesia, so it did not surprise anyone, but the latter, resulting in conflicts within the Polish community, was a new process. Two different models for viewing the Polish-Silesian cause collided – one was the traditional model, grounded in the Prussian state, connected mostly with Napieralski, who favoured cautious policies and compromises with the Centre. He assumed that the Polish movement in Upper Silesia was characterized by unique conditions of development, and although it is a part of the all-Polish movement, it must "march separately". The opposite model was represented by Jan Jakub Kowalczyk and Wojciech Korfanty, who favoured all-Polish cooperation in the cause of freeing the Upper Silesian people "from the yoke of their hitherto prevailing Centre caretakers"[75]. Korfanty's 1903 election to the Reichstag was a breakthrough in many important social and political aspects. Polish Upper Silesians gained their own representation in the Reichstag and started to further emancipate themselves from the influence of the Centre. This electoral success was the work of the intelligentsia of peasant and worker descent, which, while acquiring education and trades remained, despite their previous experiences, among "their own". They considered themselves Polish, entering inter-regional and national relations. It was not a numerous group, but it caused substantial changes in the common consciousness, such as by helping Upper Silesians shed their inferiority complex over their "*Wasserpolak* speech"[76]. They were supported by a small group of Upper Silesian clergy, mainly those that during their studies in Wrocław stayed within the sphere of influence of Korfanty and other members of Association of the Polish Youth *Zet*, a secret organization of Polish students subordinate to the National League[77]. They pledged their support in 1903, and contributed to the Polish election success in 1907, despite the threat of being disciplinarily sent by Cardinal Kopp to the "Brandenburg sands".

There is no question that the anti-Polish special acts of 1904–1908 were a reaction to the development of the Polish movement in Upper Silesia and to the

[74] *Ibidem*, chap. V, pp. 134–161.

[75] M. Orzechowski, *Wojciech Korfanty*, pp. 69–70.

[76] Dorota Symonides, *Folklor a tożsamość Śląska*, [in:] *Kultura ludowa a tożsamość Śląska*, ed. Dorota Symonides, Katowice 1990, p. 25. The local dialect was used in the election campaign in 1903 by Wojciech Korfanty and Jan Jakub Kowalczyk, graduates of the Wrocław University Faculty of Law.

[77] Teresa Kulak, *Wrocławskie studia Wojciecha Korfantego (1896-1901)*, [in:] *Wojciech Korfanty 1873-1939. W 130. rocznicę urodzin*, Wrocław 2003, p. 13–27.

participation of the people of Greater Poland in it. First, the Prussian colonization act of 1886 was extended to Silesia, and then, in 1908 a special act of the *Landtag* on the expropriation of Polish estates in the Grand Duchy of Poznań and in Pomerania. At the same time, the Reichstag, in the association act, put a "gag" on populations speaking languages other than German during public assemblies. Poles protested against these legal restrictions, but the expropriations of landed estates in the Grand Duchy of Poznań in 1911 made them more conscious of the illusory nature of the neutrality and pragmatism of the German *Rechtsstaat*, of which the authorities had tried to convince them throughout the decades[78]. Since then, Polish society had considered Upper Silesia to be part of the Prussian partition, due to the fact that the internal unity of all lands inhabited by Polish populations was being confirmed by the Germans themselves, using the same anti-Polish policies in all of their territories. Some Germans thought that there would not have been a Polish national movement and nationality-based tensions in Silesia if not for the increased Germanization[79]. It seems that a change of anti-Polish policies in the Silesian region was not possible, due to the German attitude towards Poles and their own Germanhood. They were overly sensitive when it came to assessment of the national situation of the region, and expressed it in their relations with people from the rest of Germany. Newcomers noted that Silesians were a "native German population that, more than the other tribes, emphasises the superiority of the German system of values and defends their lifestyle and customs from alien influences in the Eastern March borderlands."[80] In their observations they noted, however, that in their national eagerness to serve the Prussian state and the Hohenzollern dynasty, Silesians "were rather excessive". They likely did so in order not to be reminded of their previous allegiance to Austria.

The German inhabitants of Silesia made an impression on newcomers of trying to make the norm of German patriotism of their "national alertness". Convinced that the Silesian province was endangered by "Slavization", they demanded that the Berlin authorities closely cooperate in their constant fight against the "Slavic onslaught". They were able to achieve this in 1912, when, after Emperor Wilhelm II's statements about the "retreat of Germanhood" from the eastern territories of the Prussian state, the *Landtag* reacted with an "Act on the Strengthening of Germanhood in Some Parts

[78] *Eadem, Z Niemcami czy z Rosją? Uwagi nad politycznym wyborem Narodowej Demokracji przed I wojną światową*, [in:] *Śląsk, Polska, Niemcy*, eds Krystyn Matwijowski, Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 1990 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia 74), pp. 217–227.

[79] M. Orzechowski, *Narodowa Demokracja*, pp. 14–15.

[80] *Schlesien. Ein Bekenntnisbuch*, p. 28.

of the Country" (*Bezitzfestigungsgesetz*)[81]. Nearly the whole of the territory of Upper Silesia fell under the authority of this act, and in the Wrocław and Legnica districts it was to be in force in the "nationally endangered" counties situated on the border between Silesia and Grand Duchy of Poznań. The name *Polackengegend*, still present in the German consciousness outside of Silesia, hugely irritated Silesian Germans, but this was probably an unpredicted result of the "Polish threat" that they emphasised. In an anniversary publication from 1913, printed 100 years after Prussia had gained freedom from Napoleon's occupation and during the opening of an exhibition in the Centennial Hall in Wrocław that was built for this occasion, there were complaints that in the Reich, Wrocław was not famous for being the "largest German metropolis in the east", but is known as "a city of a nearly half-Polish character"[82]. From memoirs we know that "in Silesia, the attitude of the authorities and the German society towards Poles was at that time more hostile than in other Reich territories. In practice, neither the authorities nor the German community recognized the national minorities, and an average German did not understand at all how a German citizen could be anything other than a German. It was unimaginable that any state or community institution in Wrocław would employ a German citizen who identified as Polish."[83] The internal division of both national populations was tight and exclusive.

The then-constant Polish-German dichotomy among the inhabitants of Silesia remained unbroken, even in the area of high culture. As established by Grażyna Barbara Szewczyk, Silesian literature "did not manage to form a bridge between the nations", as its subject, "starting with the 19th century was usually connected with national issues." This meant that "German readers were not interested in the works of Polish and Czech writers, while Polish and Czech readers did not even have the opportunity to read a translation of the works of German Upper Silesians". The authors did not attempt to reconcile the nations, there was also no exchange of thoughts in a multilingual literary community."[84] The Silesian populations functioned separately within their national identities. This division was reinforced and petrified in the years before World War I, as among the Polish-speaking population of Upper Silesia a consciousness of belonging to the Polish nation and its culture had emerged. For this

[81] A. Brożek, *Ostflucht*, p. 15. See also: Teresa Kulak, *Procesy narodowe na obszarze pogranicznym Dolnego Śląska i Wielkopolski od polowy XIX wieku do 1939 r.*, [in:] *Józef Chlebowczyk – badacz procesów narodotwórczych w Europie XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Maria Wanda Wanatowicz, Katowice 2007, pp. 384–385.

[82] 'Jahrhundertfeier der Freiheitskriege', V-X (1913), Breslau-Berlin 1913, p. 183.

[83] *Do nich przyszła Polska. Wspomnienia Polaków mieszkających we Wrocławiu od końca XIX w. do 1939 r.*, ed. Alicja Zawisza, Wrocław 1993, pp. 66–67. See also: A. Bożek, *Pamiętniki*, p. 189.

[84] Grażyna Barbara Szewczyk, *Literatura na Górnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Historia Górnego Śląska*, p. 406.

part of the population, the ideological homeland was the entire Polish land, the home of the Polish nation.

It is obvious that among the population there were differences in the level of national identification and goals. Silesians with a defined national identity were not the decidedly dominant group, as the masses were still regional in their approach, decidedly Upper Silesian. This is why, as written by Marian Seyda, a member of National Democracy (*Narodowa Demokracja*) from Greater Poland, the majority of the Polish population of Upper Silesia was *kaisertreu*[85], or true to the Emperor, and at the moment the war was declared, quite disciplined. The reaction to the war was not euphoric, as was the case with the majority of Germans, but its stance was influenced by the feeling of a bond with the Prussian state, the feeling of the might and military power of Germany. Gradually, this stance was being changed by the Temporary Leadership of the VI Corps of German army, and then the disappointment connected with the act of two emperors, Franz Josef I and Wilhelm II of 5th November 1916. When informing of the territory of the future, postwar Poland that was to exist under their political custody, they did not include the lands of the Prussian partition. What was decisive for the accelerated process of development of national identity was the continually lengthening and economically exhaustive war, concluding with the military defeat of the Reich. It considerably weakened the bonds of Polish Silesians with German culture, and for many also undermined regional feeling and the previously promoted pride in its civilizational superiority[86]. The symbol of change in social attitudes was the triumphal election (63% of votes) of Wojciech Korfanty in the 1918 Reichstag by-election. The events in the politics of Entente countries, especially the stance of President of the United States Thomas Woodrow Wilson, also strengthened the population's hopes for the restoration of an independent Poland and its return to the map of Europe. At the same time, the German feared losing the Upper Silesian part of the region.

Conclusion

The analysis of problems of identity of Polish and German-language inhabitants of Silesia in the years 1741–1918 leads to the conclusion that the two populations' existence in the conditions of national and cultural dichotomy was destructive for the fate of the region. For the entire period it is hard to find major signs of their close and equal cooperation, mostly because on the Polish side there were

[85] Marian Seyda, *Polska na przełomie dziejów*, part 1, Poznań 1927, p. 199.

[86] E. Mendel, *Polacy na Górnym Śląsku*, p. 56.

for a long time no forces equal to Germans in terms of full class structure, economic power and cultural position. These circumstances made it easier for the Prussian authorities to enforce a Germanization policy, the results of which were visible first among the Polish-language Protestant population living on the right side of Odra, in the agricultural region of Lower Silesia that bordered Greater Poland. Also, in regards to the people of Upper Silesia, the authorities possessed instruments and means that decided on the character and direction of its national development, with consciously denationalizing policies in the interest of the Prussian state.

In the process of gaining a Polish national identity, several developmental stages can be distinguished, generally corresponding with the stages of development of Upper Silesia in Prussia and the German Reich between the 18th and 20th centuries. In the feudal era, at the beginning of Prussian rule over the region, this population, given its lack of a full social structure, remained in local rural communities and retained its ethnicity. In the face of public German attacks on its dialect, but with no guaranteed instruction in the standard Polish language, which would also facilitate the effective learning of German language, it developed a feeling of group distinctiveness and low self-esteem in the social hierarchy. The abolition of serfdom among Polish peasants in the middle of the 19th century and Prussian military successes in the years 1864–1871 formed the basis for the shaping of a Prussian patriotism. However, its social scope was undermined by *Kulturkampf,* changing it into Upper Silesian patriotism based on bonds with the land and consciousness of common ancestry, as well as commonality of language, religion, tradition and customs. The progressive industrialization of Silesia at the brink of the 20th century allowed for more mobility of the population and a change in social status from peasants to working class, but further social advances by Polish people was dependent on transitioning to the German national group, which did not become a common practice. The Catholicism of Polish-language Silesians was used politically by the Catholic Centre Party, subordinating them as its electorate through the Church hierarchy. In this way it controlled their spiritual and organizational life at the parish level, while not defending them from Germanization.

The growing oppression of Polish Upper Silesians since the 1880s was also intertwined with a relative freedom of social life introduced in the Reich, and therefore the press, electoral activity and participation in various societies accelerated the formation of their self-knowledge. The presence of people from Greater Poland in Upper Silesia increase their knowledge of the standard Polish language and of other parts of the Polish lands, but for a long time there was no need to define their feeling of national identity. Only at the end of the 19th century did a small

group of people with a crystalized national identity emerge, including a small number of local intelligentsia. Ethnically, the Polish part of the Upper Silesian society was still at the level of consciousness of the regional bond and with a feeling of linguistic, religious and social distinctiveness from the Germans. The aforementioned phases of consciousness were in play at nearly the same time, forming a distinct mosaic of stances and beliefs. Only under the influence of new political and social developments, such as Polish successes in the elections in 1903–1907 and in 1919, and first and foremost due to the hardships of World War I, did the demand for Silesia to be connected with the whole Polish nation and the need for a common and conscious fight for independence emerge. This national goal was realized after the war that ended in 1918, in spite of the stance and interests of the German inhabitants of the region, for whom this meant permanent territorial disintegration and social and economic separation of the Upper Silesian part.

Lucyna Harc
University of Wrocław

One region, two states. Silesia under the Hohenzollerns (1741-1918). Summary

Abstract:

The collection of articles presented herein concerns the results of research concerning the processes cohesive and disruptive to Silesia's unity in the period between Friedrich II (the Great) invasion in 1740 and the end of World War I in 1918. The conclusions of this research indicate the strengthening regional cohesion of 19th century Silesia due to a revised and improved administrative system, partially belonging to Prussia, then the Reich, as well as due to the formation of a net of economic interdependencies. However, in the social, ethnic and cultural contexts there were disruptive conditions for Silesia and its inhabitants.

Keywords:

Silesia, regional cohesion, disintegrating factors, sub-regional identity

The entry of Prussian armies into Silesia at the end of 1740 and the ensuing three Silesian Wars led to the division of what had been a territorially cohesive region into two parts, disproportionate in terms of area and population, as well as political, economic and cultural significance. The Habsburgs retained control of a small area frequently referred to as Austrian Silesia, and which encompassed the Duchies of Cieszyn and Opava, alongside fragments of the Duchies of Nysa and Krnov. A far larger portion found itself under the control of the Hohenzollerns until the end of the period under analysis in this volume of *Cuius regio*.

The Austrian portion, at the fringes of the large territory controlled by the Habsburgs, was incapable of playing a significant role within the monarchy, whether administratively or economically. This was not the case in the portion taken over by Friedrich II. From the time of the Silesian Wars until the first years of the 19th century, Silesia retained its administrative distinctness from the rest of Prussia; the incorporation of the freshly annexed province into the rest of the state was to be performed by bureaucrats imported from outside the region. Silesians were only allowed to occupy lower-ranking offices. Meanwhile, in comparison to the previous period there were serious restrictions placed on the role of the Silesian duchies, the provincial diet retained only its judicial and representative functions, and cities lost a portion of their previous powers. Upper Silesia was treated differently from

Lower Silesia, with the former losing some of its privileges, while being viewed by authorities in both Berlin and Wrocław as distinct in essentially every aspect (administrative, economic, religious and ethnic) from its Lower Silesian counterpart. The new authorities engaged in a range of activities intended to permanently break the bonds between the Prussian portion of Silesia and the territory remaining under the control of the Habsburgs. One example of this is activity taken in respect of the Catholic Church. Regions within the boundaries of the Silesian province but historically belonging to dioceses other than Wrocław were incorporated into its borders. Silesian monastic provinces were also established in areas previously belonging to the Bohemian and Polish provinces.

Significant changes in the administrative sphere were brought about by the situation in Prussia during the Napoleonic Wars, and following their conclusion. After the Stein–Hardenberg Reforms conducted in 1807-1808 and 1810, the region attained a position similar to that enjoyed by the remaining portions of the Hohenzollern monarchy, becoming a province of equal status. This was to lead to its closer integration with the Prussian state, but also to the neutralization of separatist tendencies visible during the presence of Napoleon's armies in 1806-1807. The process of modernization of administrative structures was complemented by the division of the Silesian province into smaller parts, consisting first of four regencies, reduced to three in 1820. That last change had an influence on the development of particular sub-regions within Silesia. The strong powers granted to the presidents of the regencies, coupled with the relatively weak authority of the province's governor, led to the regencies closing themselves off from one another and to a deepening of the divisions among them. This was particularly visible in Upper Silesia, comprising a portion of the Opole regency. The internal administrative division proved exceptionally durable, remaining essentially unchanged until the end of World War I. This longevity was most certainly determined by the reformers paying heed to historical conditions when carving out the borders of the regencies. At the beginning of the 1820s this administrative division was extended to the Catholic and Evangelical churches. In spite of the distinctiveness of Lower and Upper Silesia, their presence in one province and the appointment of the Silesian Diet in 1825 contributed to regional stabilization and integration.

A separate role, however, was played by the social and political movements in Silesia that began developing during the Spring of Nations. The birth of numerous political parties, associations and organizations was a reflection of the region's social and political diversity. Conservatives and centrists active from the mid-19th century were joined at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries by social democrats, as

well as the emerging Polish national emancipation movement. Growing social tension, resulting primarily from economic issues (including the emancipation of the serfs and the workers' movement), contributed to the disintegration of Silesians and deepening of the cracks between the urbanizing, industrialized Upper Silesia and the primarily rural remainder of the province. An additional factor was the anti-Catholic and Germanising efforts undertaken by state administration in the second half of the 19th century. The *Kulturkampf* saw the initiation of the process of removing Polish as a language from schools and public life. Such efforts were also conducted later on, lasting essentially until the beginning of the 20th century. They had a disintegrating influence, reinforcing divisions and conflict among the inhabitants of Silesia, particularly in diverse Upper Silesia.

In the economic sphere, the first stage following the occupation of Silesia by Friedrich II served to further internal, regional integration. The new province, isolated during the Habsburg period from commercial trade with Prussia and the other German regions, was not immediately incorporated into the economic mainstream. Rather, it was encompassed by a mercantilist policy. The Prussian system of taxes and duties, introduced by the new rulers, was taken by a large portion of Silesians to be a form of economic drainage, thereby serving to reinforce their feelings of regional distinctiveness. Economically, the region itself remained broken up into its Lower and Upper Silesian parts, differentiated by both agricultural and industrial output. The small portion remaining under the rule of the Habsburgs, constituting just 1/9 of the historical Silesian region, was entirely cut off commercially from the segment controlled by the Hohenzollerns.

Many significant changes in both the economic and administrative spheres took place during and after the Napoleonic period. The elimination of serfdom, relaxations in the sale of land, and the freedom to engage in trade were the first steps in improving the legal and economic situation of urbanites and the peasant population. The economic boom in the 1820s and 30s, industrialization and the expansion of industry, particularly mining and smelting in Upper Silesia from the mid-19th century, all contributed to deepening the division of the region. Its south-eastern portion began to grow rapidly, where quickly-expanding cities played a significant role, including entirely new urban centres such as Katowice and Siemianowice; meanwhile, a portion of the historical production centres saw their role diminished. The Silesian weaving industry was hit particularly hard. It was not until the mid-19th century that it began a process of mechanization and saw growth resume. The central and western portions of the Odra valley retained their agricultural character, while the Silesian agricultural model itself underwent fundamental transformation

and modernization only after the events of the Spring of Nations and political changes they brought about. As a consequence, during the latter half of the 19th century the Silesian countryside gained in importance in both the region and the state as a producer of food and industrial raw materials. Animal husbandry also expanded significantly.

In the following decades of the 19th century the largely rural Lower Silesia was fused with the industrially developing Upper Silesia. A significant role in this process was played by the construction of an extensive railway network, begun in the 1840s, which served to link the two economically distinct portions of the Silesia region. This network also joined it to the remaining parts of Prussia, leading to Silesia's general economic growth. In effect, these phenomena exerted an integrating effect on the entire region's community. Confirmation of the grass-roots feelings of economic cohesion can also be found in the numerous societies, unions and cooperatives founded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries bringing together both farmers and industrialists from a range of industries, and whose names contained adjectives indicating their general Silesian character, such as the Union of Silesian Agricultural Cooperatives. Destabilization and particularly disintegration of the Silesian economy did not begin until World War I with the adoption of war economy legislation, as well as due to the loss of 20% of the male workforce owing to participation in the fighting.

Social groups in Silesia during the period extending from Friedrich II's annexation of the region until the close of the 18th century remained within the estate system formed in the Habsburg period. At the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, however, these structures began to evolve. The process was tightly coupled with changes in the political, administrative and economic spheres. Also of importance in this area were the events of the Napoleonic period, which impacted decisions by the authorities to lift the guild system, and to engage in the long process of peasant emancipation. The consequence was the gradual transformation of a feudal society into a capitalist one.

The changes affected all social groups. The local nobility, first after 1740, then again following the secularization of Church lands conducted in Silesia in 1810, expanded to include new clans arriving from the remaining portions of Prussia (Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Lower Saxony). They did not all put down permanent roots in the region. Additionally, the portion of the Silesian nobility that sided against Friedrich II during the Silesian Wars was forced to emigrate. Some of the families with possessions in both halves of Silesia – Prussian and Austrian – split into separate lines, which then functioned within two states.

The portion that remained in Austrian Silesia shed their estates on the Prussian side. The sum total of these factors had a disintegrating effect on the Silesian nobility and local aristocracy. Stabilization of this social group did not commence until around the mid-19th century. In the second half of that period some of the clans succeeded in modernizing their own estates and drastically increasing their value, not only through investing in industrialization of agricultural production, but also through putting surplus into the mining, metallurgical and machine industries. As a result, many of the Silesian clans at the beginning of the 20th century were among the richest in Prussia, and even in the entire Reich. At the same time, the aspirations of this group's members to ascend the administrative and military hierarchies led to a "self-Prussianization" of the Silesian nobility throughout the 19th century, which had a destructive impact on their bond with the region.

The strong influence in Silesia of the state on the Roman Catholic and Evangelical churches from the second half of the 18th century through the *Kulturkampf* period (from the administrative reforms and adaptation of diocesan borders to those of the state, through secularization, to the fusion of the Evangelical Lutheran Church with the Reformed Church into the Evangelical-Uniate Church) resulted in disintegration among both Catholic and Protestant clergy.

The urban population of Silesia as a social group set out along its own course of evolution at the close of the 18th century. A middle class, consisting *inter alia* of civil servants, teachers and members of freelance professions, began to emerge and expand alongside merchants and artisans. This process unfolded in an uneven manner across Silesia. Social changes in cities took place more rapidly in Lower Silesia during the first half of the 19th century, later expanding to the Opole region, finally reaching Upper Silesia. The greater portion of that group identified more closely with the Prussian state than with the region, all the more so considering that a portion of them came from outside Silesia, arriving in conjunction with perspectives for finding work and advancing in public administration and the school system. In the 19th century the urban population also expanded through the arrival of people from the countryside in search of employment in industry. Following the emancipation of the serfs, which enabled migration, that particular group began to comprise the urban proletariat. The movement of large groups of peasants to the cities led in turn to a deficit of agricultural workers in the Silesian countryside. This demand was met by an influx of farmhands from outside Silesia, primarily from the east. These phenomena during the time period under discussion led to disintegration within that social group as well.

Thus, the social transformations resulting from the abolishment of the guild system and serfdom, as well as the formation of a group of rich land-owners alongside a strong urban class, undoubtedly had disintegrating effects on Silesian society. In spite of these processes, there was also pride in Silesian identity. The most visible example of this was the addition in the 19th century of the adjective "Silesian" to the names of local animal and plant breeds, and to goods produced by local craftsmen and industry.

In the second half of the 18th century a view previously expressed in writings of the Habsburg period became prevalent, according to which Silesia was inhabited by two very different ethnic groups: better-educated, hard-working, largely Protestant speakers of German on the left bank of the Odra river, while the right bank of the Odra river was inhabited by generally lazy, backwards, largely Catholic speakers of Polish. These stereotypes remained constant throughout the 19th century, but they failed to adequately express the complexity of the situation. Alongside residents of the region using German and Polish, there were numerous groups using dialects, including the so-called *Wasserpolnisch* in Upper Silesia. There were also small groups speaking Czech and Moravian, as well as a mix of other Slavic languages. After the 1815 incorporation of a portion of Upper Lusatia into Silesia, a group of Sorbian speakers was added to the mix. The policies of the Prussian authorities from the Friedrich II era until the beginning of the 20th century consistently worked towards increasing the number of German speakers within the population. These phenomena intensified after 1871 in conjunction with the official drive to reinforce German identity, which was only partially successful. Aversion to submitting to this policy led over time to the emergence and strengthening of a dichotomy of national-cultural consciousness. Intensification of these processes occurred at the junction of the 19th and 20th centuries, while the situation was complicated by the migration of various populations resulting from the industrialization and growth of cities, the development of education and literacy in both Polish and German, and also political activity of the *Kulturkampf* period.

Ethnic and linguistic divisions were also enhanced by confessional differences among the inhabitants of Silesia, although the prevalent view holding that the Polish-speaking inhabitants of Upper Silesia were primarily Catholics, while the German-speaking residents of Opole and Lower Silesia were mainly Protestants, was unjustified. During the period from the mid-18th century until the conclusion of World War I the complex ethnic, linguistic and confessional structure of Silesian society contributed to a weakening of the region's cohesion, becoming a permanent disintegrating factor. It should also be noted that the small area remaining under

Habsburg control after 1740 retained its ethnic, linguistic and confessional distinctiveness from the Prussian area. The disintegration process was weakest among the people living in Cieszyn Silesia.

During the initial period following the incorporation of Silesia into Prussia, the local inhabitants retained a rather strong feeling of cultural distinctness and Silesian identity. A significant change in this sphere occurred during the Napoleon era. The involvement of German-speaking Silesian residents in the war with Napoleon and the prevalence of patriotic sentiment during what was referred to as a war of liberation contributed to the creation of integrating bonds between the region's inhabitants and the Prussian state; paradoxically, it also reinforced regional identity. Different attitudes were, however, visible among a portion of the Polish-speaking population. This fissure was crucial in the absence of a feeling of community and in the destruction of the region's cultural cohesion in the 19th and 20th centuries. The formation of common bonds was not furthered by the functioning of separate German, Polish and Czech-speaking identities among the inhabitants of Silesia. The activities of the authorities begun in the 1820s, and intended to lead to cultural unification through such means as forbidding the use of Polish-language books in schools, did not bring the results expected, particularly in Upper Silesia. In Lower Silesia, the construction of a Silesian identity encompassing primarily educated, German-speaking elites from leading centres of scientific and cultural life, with Wrocław at the centre, was to be furthered by the formation of Silesian regional societies and organizations (e.g. Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur, Verein für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens), construction of the Museum of Silesian Antiquity in the regional capital, and the printing of publications with the adjective "Silesian" in their titles. From the times of the Spring of Nations, the Polish-speaking residents of Upper Silesia engaged in efforts to counter these activities. The "Upper-Silesian Daily" („Dziennik Górno-Śląski") was published, while such groups as the National Club and the Society for the Education of the Upper Silesian People. This dichotomy of activity contributes to the Silesian authorities' decision in the mid-19th century to relax their unification and Germanization policies, leading to a reduction in tensions. Change came with the emergence of the German Reich and the *Kulturkampf* policy initiated by the authorities after 1871. Contrary to the intentions of the ruling class, among the Polish-speaking population a particular Upper Silesian patriotism broke out, based on bonds with the land and an identity grounded in a community of language, religion, tradition and custom. It was different from the identity of the German-speaking inhabitants of Lower Silesia (and a portion of the German-speakers living in Upper Silesia).

The visible and lasting rupture was a strongly disintegrating factor for the local community.

At the beginning of the 20th century a stabilization of attitudes ensued, which survived World War I. Upon its conclusion, the territory constituting Silesia found itself belonging to three separate states. The eruption of the Silesian Uprisings put the region's absence of cultural and identity cohesion on display. It constituted an expression of the separate identity developed over decades by the Polish-speaking residents of Upper Silesia, who did not feel any particularly strong bonds with Lower Silesia, the Prussian state, or the Reich.

In each of the spheres analysed in this volume (administration, economy, social groups, ethnic and linguistic issues, cultural identity), what has been demonstrated is the prevalence of disintegrating factors in the region from the period of its seizure by the armies of Friedrich II until the conclusion of World War I. Top-down efforts undertaken by the authorities aimed at integrating the region with the Prussian state, and then with the Reich, did not fully achieve their objectives. The split into the two sub-regions of Upper and Lower Silesia would seem to be inevitable, in spite of particular unifying elements, particularly in the economic sphere during the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

Maps and Illustrations

Map 1. Silesia in 1811 (Dariusz Przybytek).

Map 2. The Province of Silesia in 1922 (map from: *Kultur und Arbeit einer deutschen Grenzmark*, eds Bruno Salomon, Erwin Stein, Berlin 1926, p. 25).

Illustration 1. The marriage from Ligota Turawska. Photo by M. Glauer. Opole ca. 1915. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 2. The woman in the regional outfit. Photo by G. Dietrich. Głogówek ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 3. A girl dressed in a regional outfit on the day of First Holy Communion. Photo by G. Dietrich. Głogówek ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 4. The family living near Biała. Photo by O. Küblbeck. Biała, ca. 1915. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 5. The family living near Głogówek. Photo by G. Dietrich. Głogówek, ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 6. The family in the atelier. Photo by R. Mimietz. Głubczyce ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 7. The marriage in the atelier. Photo by R. Herden. Opole ca. 1898. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 8. The nun in the atelier. Photo by M. Glauer. Opole ca. 1925. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 9. The Priest. Photo by Th. Tschentschner. Mysłowice ca. 1910. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Illustration 10. The family of a farmer, who owned 27 ha. Photographer unknown. Rostkowice in County of Prudnik, ca. 1908. Resources of the Opole Silesian Museum.

Bibliography

by Aleksandra Filipek-Misiak, Katarzyna Polak

Primary sources

Adams John Quincy, *Listy o Śląsku*, Wrocław–Warszawa 1992.

Adamy Heinrich, *Geographie von Schlesien*, 33th edition, eds Artur Scheer, Erich Scheer, Schweidnitz 1910.

Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu (=State Archives in Opole), *Inwentarz Archiwum hr. Prashmy z Niemodlina*, Found No. 152.

Bandtkie Jerzy Samuel, *Wiadomości o języku polskim w Śląsku i o polskich Ślązakach (1821)*, Wrocław 1945.

Bandtkie Jerzy Samuel, *Über die polnische Sprache in Schlesien*, 'Historisch-kritischen Annalecten', 1802.

Benda Johann, *Betrachtung Oberschlesiens*, 'Korrespondenzblatt der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur', 1 (1820), pp. 13-27.

Bonczyk/Bończyk Norbert, *Stary kościół miechowski: obrazek obyczajów wiejskich w narzeczu górnośląskiem*, Bytom 1883.

Bonczyk/Bończyk Norbert, *Góra Chełmska, czyli Święta Anna z klasztorem oo. Franciszkanów. Wspomnienia z r. 1875*, Wrocław 1886.

'Breslauer Gemeinde-Blatt', vol. 1915-1918.

Conversations-Lexikon der Gegenwart: In vier Bänden, vol. 2: *F bis J*, Leipzig 1839.

'Czas', vol. 1848, No. 1.

Dieterici Carl Friedrich Wilhelm, *Handbuch der Statistik des preußischen Staates*, Berlin 1861.

Do nich przyszła Polska. Wspomnienia Polaków mieszkających we Wrocławiu od końca XIX w. do 1939 r., ed. Alicja Zawisza, Wrocław 1993.

'Dziennik Górno-Szląski', vol. 1848, No. 37.

'Dziennik Poznański', vol. 1860-1903.

Eine Reise von Herrnhut aus in das Kriegsgebiet des ersten schlesischen Krieges, [in:] *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Schlesien*, ed. Gustav A. Benrath, München–Oldenburg 1992.

Fuchs Gottlieb, *Forgesetzte Materialien zur evangelischen Religionsgeschichte von Oberschlesien*, part 2: *Reformations- und Kirchengeschichte der freyen Standesherrschaft Beuthen*, Breslau 1776.

'Gazeta Polska', vol. 1848, No. 5.

Generalne tabele statystyczne Śląska z 1787 r., ed. Tadeusz Ładogórski, Wrocław 1954.

Hoffmann Georg, *Geschichte der Stadt Kattowitz*, Kattowitz 1895.

Hoffmann Karl Gottfried, *Geschichte von Schlesien aus der Altesten Zeit bis der unsere Tage*, Schweidnitz 1829.

Hundrich Georg Ludwig, *Nachrichten über die polnischen und andern außerdeutschen Sprachberhältnisse in der Provinz Schlesien, besonderes im Bereiche des Oberlandesgerichts zu Breslau*, 'Übersicht der Arbeiten und Veränderungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur im Jahre 1843', 1844, pp. 45-73.

'Jahrhundertfeier der Freiheitskriege', V-X (1913), Breslau-Berlin 1913.

'Katolik', vol. 1870, No. 1.

Kowalczyk Jan Jakub, *Ci, co przygotowali odrodzenie Górnego Śląska*, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (= The Library of Ossoliński National Institut), Manuscript, Signature 13202/II.

Listy braci masonów. *Carl v. Hessen do Haugwitza*, ed. Dorota Kurpiers, [in printing].

Malinowski Lucjan, *Listy z podróży etnograficznej po Śląsku,* 'Na dziś. Pismo zbiorowe', 1 (1872), pp. 289-313.

Malinowski Lucjan, *Zarysy życia ludowego na Szląsku*, [in:] *Lucjan Malinowski a Śląsk*, eds Jerzy Pośpiech, Stanisława Sochacka, Opole 1976, pp. 111-199.

Michaelis Georg, *Für Staat und Volk. Eine Lebensgeschichte*, Berlin 1922.

Pohle Johannes Wilhelm, *Der Oberschlesier verteidigt gegen seine Widersacher*, Breslau 1791.

Polskie podróże po Śląsku w XVIII i XIX w. (do 1863), ed. Andrzej Zieliński, Wrocław 1974.

Przywara Erich SJ, *Was ich Kattowitz danke, 'Der Oberschlesier' z 11 IV 1932. Co zawdzięczam Katowicom*, translated by Adolf Kühneman, 'Joseph Eichendorf Konwersatorium. Zeszyty Edukacji Kulturalnej', 69 (2010), pp. 174-175.

Rok 1848 w Polsce. Wybór źródeł, ed. Stefan Kieniewicz, Wrocław 1948.

Schlesien: ein Bekenntnisbuch, ed. Schlesischen Bund für Heimatschutz, Breslau 1919.

Schlesische Lehrerversammlung (OPAVA). Stenographisches Protokoll der in Troppau abgehaltenen Schlesischen Lehrerversammlung am 9. Juli 1868, Teschen 1868, pp. 29-32.

‘Schlesische Priviliegierte Zeitung’, No. 13 (1813).

‘Schlesische Provinzialblätter’, vol. 1792 and 1817.

Steinberger Johann Georg, *Breslauisches Tagebuch 1740-1742*, ed. Egon Traeger, Breslau 1891.

‘Ślązak. Gazeta Ludowa’, vol. 1909, No. 1.

Theiner Johann Anton, *Freimüthige Äußerungen über den sittlichen und kirchlichen Zustand Oberschlesiens: allen, welche sich mit diesem Lande näher bekannt machen wollen*, Breslau 1826.

Virchow Rudolf, *Mitteilungen über die in Oberschlesien herrschende Typhus-Epidemie*, Berlin 1848.

Weidemann Friedrich, *Oberschlesische Zustände in freien Rasirspiegel-Scenen*, Leipzig 1843.

Władysławówna Marya, *Brodzińskiego pisma patryotyczne a Fichtego mowy do narodu niemieckiego*, ‘Filareta. Miesięcznik kulturalny dla Młodzieży’, 1 (1911), No. 9.

Wolff Wilhelm, *Wybór pism o Śląsku*, ed. Wacław Długoborski, Warszawa 1954.

Wołanie do Pana. Konstytucje. Reguła Służebniczek Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego, Mödling [no date].

‘Ziemianin’, vol. 1850-1896.

Zimmermann Friedrich Albert, *Beyträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien,* vol. 1: *Das Fürstenthum Brieg*, Brieg 1783; vol. 2: *Falkenbergscher Kreis,* Brieg 1783; vol. 3: *Beschreibung des Oppelnschen Kreises*, Brieg 1784; vol. 5, part 1: *Vom Fürstenthum Schweidniz überhaupt,* Brieg 1785; vol. 8: *Vom Fürstenthum Liegnitz überhaupt*, Brieg 1789; vol. 11: *Beschreibung der Stadt Breslau im Herzogthum Schlesien*, Brieg 1794.

Literature

Adamek Stanisław, *Inicjatywy społeczno-pedagogiczne na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice 1997.

Anders Friedrich Gottlob Eduard, *Historische Diözesantabellen oder Geschichtliche Darstellung der äusseren Verhältnisse der evangelischen Kirche in Schlesien*, Glogau 1855.

Andree Christian, *Der Kulturkampf in Schlesien*, ‘Archiv für schlesischen Kirchengeschichte’, 53 (1995), pp. 151-168.

Aubin Hermann, *Gustav Adolf Stenzel und die geistige Erfassung der deutsche Ostbewegung*, 'Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau', 6 (1961), pp. 57-64.

Bachem Karl, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der deutschen Zentrumspartei*, vol. 3, Köln 1927; vol. 4, Köln 1928.

Badania z dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych, ed. Zbigniew Kwaśny, Wrocław 1987 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No. 801, Historia 51).

Bahlcke Joachim, *Die Geschichte der schlesischen Territorien von den Anfaengen bis zum Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, [in:] *Schlesien und die Schlesier*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke et al., Müchen 1996, pp. 13-154.

Bahlcke Joachim et al., *Śląsk i Ślązacy*, translated by Michał Misiorny, Zofia Rybicka, Warszawa 2001.

Barniškienė Sigita, *Donelatis und Tielo – zwei Beispiele von Koexistenz der Literaturen in Ostpreußen*, 'Deutsch-litausche Beziehungen. Annaberger Annalen', No. 9 (2001), pp. 245-255.

Baumeister Martin, *Parität und katholische Inferiorität*, Paderborn 1987.

Baumgart Peter, *Die Annexion und Eingliederung Schlesiens in den friderizianischen Staat*, [in:] *Expansion und Integration. Zur Eingliederung neugewonnener Gebiete in den preußischen Staat*, ed. Peter Baumgart, Köln 1984, pp. 84-118.

Baumgart Peter, *Schlesien als eingenständige Provinz im altpreußischen Staat (1740-1806)*, [in:] *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Schlesien*, ed. Norbert Conrads, Berlin 1994, pp. 346-353.

Baumgart Peter, *Ständetum und Staatsbildung in Brendenburg-Preußen. Zur Einführung und Problemstellung*, [in:] *Ständetum und Staatsbildung in Brandenburg-Preußen,* ed. Peter Baumgart, Berlin 1983, pp. 3-15.

Becker Bert, *Georg Michaelis. Preußischer Beamter, Reichskanzler, Christlicher Reformer 1857–1936. Eine Biographie*, Paderborn 2007.

Bellardi Werner, *Die Bittgesuche evangelischer Gemeinden Schlesiens an Friedrich den Großen*, 'Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte', 33 (1954), pp. 64-84.

Belzyt Leszek, *Pruska statystyka językowa (1825-1911) a Polacy zaboru pruskiego, Mazur i Śląska,* Zielona Góra 2013.

Bełza Stanisław, *My czy oni na Szląsku polskim?*, 2nd edition, Katowice 1902.

Bełza Stanisław, *Początki narodowego odrodzenia Śląska*, [in:] *Warszawa Śląskowi. Odczyty publiczne*, Warszawa 1920, pp. 16-34.

Bełza Stanisław, *Przyszłość, teraźniejszość i przyszłość Górnego Śląska*, Warszawa 1922.

Berg Julius, *Die Geschichte der schwersten Prüfungszeit der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens und der Oberlausitz d.i. Der Zeit von Einführung der Reformation bis zur Besitznahme Schlesiens durch König Friedrich den Grossen*, Jauer 1857.

Bergerhausen Hans-Wolfgang, *Friedenrecht und Toleranz. Zur Politik des preußischen Staates gegenüber der katholischen Kirche in Schlesien 1740-1806*, Würzburg 1999.

Biały Franciszek, *Górnośląskie koła przemysłowo-handlowe wobec rządowych projektów rozbudowy dróg wodnych (1850-1914)*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 4 (1962), pp. 233-287.

Biały Franciszek, *Górnośląski Związek Przemysłowców Górniczo-Hutniczych. Z dziejów kapitalizmu monopolistycznego na Śląsku*, Katowice 1963.

Bjork James, *Inadvertent Allies: Catholicism and Regionalism in a German-Polish Borderland*, [in:] *Region and State in Nineteenth-century Europe. Nation-building, Regional Identities and Separatism*, eds Joost Augusteijn, Eric Storm, London 2012, pp. 246-266.

Błaszczak-Wacławik Miroslawa, *Miejsce i rola regionalnej kultury w procesach życia społecznego zbiorowości Górnego Śląska do roku 1945*, [in:] *Górny Śląsk, szczególny przypadek kulturowy*, eds Mirosława Błaszczak-Wacławik, Wojciech Basiak, Tomasz Nawrocki, Warszawa 1990, pp. 7-63.

Błaszczyk Tomasz, *Zakony na Śląsku w dobie Kulturkampfu*, Wrocław 2004 (=Papieski Wydział Teologiczny we Wrocławiu, Rozprawy Naukowe, No. 54).

Bokszański Zbigniew, *Tożsamości zbiorowe*, Warszawa 2005.

Borek Henryk, *Kolonizacja fryderycjańska na Górnym Śląsku w odbiciu nazewnictwa miejscowego*, 'Studia Śląskie', 47 (1989), pp. 21-52.

Borkowska Elżbieta Henryka, *Rola Wielkopolan w życiu narodowym Górnego Śląska w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku*, Gliwice 2012.

Borkowski Maciej, *Gmina żydowska w Opolu w latach 1812-1944*, Opole 2009.

Born Aleksander, *Regulacja Odry i rozbudowa urządzeń technicznych*, [in:] *Monografia Odry*, eds Andrzej Grodek, Maria Kiełczewska-Zaleska, August Zierhoffer, Poznań 1948, pp. 419-553.

Bożek Arka, *Pamiętniki*, Katowice 1967.

Brożek Andrzej, *Ostflucht na Śląsku,* Katowice 1966.

Brożek Andrzej, *Robotnicy górnośląscy wobec migracji robotniczych z Galicji i Kongresówki*, 'Zaranie Śląskie', 4 (1961), pp. 775-786.

Brożek Andrzej, *Wysiedlenia Polaków z Górnego Śląska przez Bismarcka (1885–1887*), Katowice 1963.

Cetwiński Marek, *Jeszcze raz o „paradygmacie Stenzla*", [in:] *Silesia Historica. Badania nad historią Śląska. Metody i praktyka historiografii oraz nowe poszukiwania/Forschungen zur Geschichte Schlesiens: Methoden und Praxis der Historiographie und neue Unterschungen*, eds Sławomir Moździoch, Stanisław Rosik, Thomas Wünsch, Wrocław 2012, pp. 33-39.

Chlebowczyk Józef, *Klasa robotnicza Górnego Śląska a proces kształtowania się więzi narodowej*, Katowice 1985.

Chlebowczyk Józef, *O prawie do bytu małych i młodych narodów. Kwestia narodowa i procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie Środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu (od schyłku XVIII do początków XX w.)*, Warszawa-Kraków 1983.

Cimała Bogdan, *Prace historyczne poświęcone dziejom miejscowości Śląska Opolskiego*, [in:] *Kronikarz a historyk. Atuty i słabości regionalnej historiografii. Materiały z konferencji Cieszyn 20-21 września 2007*, ed. Janusz Spyra, Cieszyn 2010, pp. 368-404.

Cimała Bogdan, Kwiatek Jolanta, *Heimatkunde w szkołach na Górnym Śląsku do I wojny światowej*, [in:] *Regionalizm, kultura i oświata regionalna*, eds Bogdan Cimała, Jolanta Kwiatek, Opole 2010, pp. 117-129.

Clark Christopher, *Prusy. Powstanie i upadek 1600-1947*, Warszawa 2009.

Conrads Norbert, *Die schlesische Ständeverfassung im Umbruch. Vom altständischen Herzogtum zur preußischen Provinz*, [in:] *Ständetum und Staatsbildung in Brandenburg-Preußen. Ergebnisse einer internationalen Fachtagung*, eds Peter Baumgart, Jürgen Schmädeke, Berlin 1983 (=Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, Bd. 55. Forschungen zur preußischen Geschichte), pp. 335-364.

Czapliński Marek, *Adam Napieralski 1861-1928. Biografia polityczna*, Wrocław 1974.

Czapliński Marek, *Biurokracja niemieckiego imperium kolonialnego. Charakterystyka urzędników kolonialnych*, Wrocław 1985.

Czapliński Marek, *Czy można mówić o dyskryminacji Śląska? Pruska polityka urzędnicza na Górnym Śląsku*, 'Studia Śląskie', 51 (1992), pp. 31-45.

Czapliński Marek, *Der Oberschlesier – Staatsbürger oder Untertan? Zur preußischen Politik der Jahre 1807-1914*, [in:] *Nationale Minderheiten Und staatliche Minderheitenpolitik in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert*, eds Hans Henning Hahn, Peter Kunze, Berlin 1999, pp. 81-91.

Czapliński Marek, *Skowroński Aleksander,* [in:] *Słownik biograficzny katolickiego duchowieństwa śląskiego XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Mieczysław Pater, Katowice 1996, pp. 379-380.

Czapliński Marek, *Śląsk od wojen napoleońskich i reform pruskich do Wiosny Ludów*, [in:] *Historia Śląska*, ed. Marek Czapliński, Wrocław 2002, pp. 250-294.

Czapliński Marek, *Śląsk w 2. połowie XIX w. i na początku XX w*., [in:] *Historia Śląska*, ed. Marek Czapliński, Wrocław 2002, pp. 294-348.

Czapliński Władysław, Galos Adam, Korta Wacław, *Historia Niemiec*, Wrocław 1981.

Czembor Henryk, *Kościół ewangelicki na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1919-1921*, [in:] *Kościoły i związki wyznaniowe a konflikty polsko-niemieckie na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1919-1921*, eds Zbigniew Kapała, Jerzy Myszor, Bytom 2005, pp. 48-58.

Das preußische England... Berichte über die industriellen und sozialen Zustände in Oberschlesien zwischen 1780 und 1876, eds Hans-Walter Dobbelmann, Volker Husberg, Wolfhard Weber, Wiesbaden 1993.

Delamont Sara, *Appetities and Identities. An Introduction to the Social Anthropology of Western Europe*, London–New York 1995.

Demel Juliusz, *Problematyka mieszczańska na łamach 'Schlesische Provinzialblätter' (1785-1830)*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 20 (1992), pp. 71-101.

Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Schlesien, ed. Norbert Conrads, Berlin 1994.

Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte, eds Kurt G.A. Jeserich, Hans Pohl, Georg-Christoph von Unruh, vol. 1: *Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ende des Reiches*; vol. 2: *Vom Reichsdeputationshauptschluß bis zur Auflösung des Deutschen Bundes*; vol. 3: *Das Deutsche Reich bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, Stuttgart 1983-1984.

Die preußischen Oberpräsidenten 1815-1945, ed. Klaus Schwabe, Boppard am Rhein 1985.

Długoborski Wacław, *Targi wrocławskie 1742-1749. Przyczynek do dziejów związków gospodarczych Śląska z Polską*, 'Roczniki Historyczne', 18 (1949), pp. 318-341.

Długoborski Wacław, Gierowski Józef, Maleczyński Karol, *Dzieje Wrocławia do 1807 r*., Wrocław 1958.

Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna, ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006.

Dominas Przemysław, *Kolej w prowincjach poznańskiej i śląskiej. Mechanizmy powstawania i funkcjonowania do 1914 roku*, Łodź 2013.

Dominas Przemysław, *Koleją z Kłodzka do Wałbrzycha*, Wrocław 2004.

Doose Günther, *Die separatistische Bewegung in Oberschlesien nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg (1818-1922)*, Wiesbaden 1987.

Dudała Halina, Dziwoki Julia, *Rok 1865 w świetle katowickich ksiąg metrykalnych*, [in:] *Katowice w 138. rocznicę uzyskania praw miejskich*, ed. A. Barciak, Katowice 2004, pp. 63-137.

Dzieje Górnego Śląska w latach 1816-1947, ed. Franciszek Hawranek, Opole 1981.

Dziewulski Władysław, *Rewolucja i reakcja na Śląsku pruskim i austriackim (1848–1850*), [in:] *Dzieje Górnego Śląska w latach 1816–1947*, ed. Franciszek Hawranek, Opole 1981, pp. 90-140.

Ender Janina, *Obrońcy ludu śląskiego*, Warszawa 1956.

Eriksen Thomas Hylland, *Ethnicity and nationalism: Anthropological perspectives*, London 2002.

Falęcki Tomasz, *Więź ogólnonarodowa i regionalna w świadomości powstańców śląskich 1919-1939*, [in:] *Pamiętnik Powszechnego XV Zjazdu Historyków Polskich*, vol. 3: *Małe ojczyzny na kresach II Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Przemysław Hauser, Gdańsk–Toruń 1995, pp. 45-64.

Fechner Hermann, *Geschichte des schlesischen Berg- und Hüttenwesens in der Zeit Friedrich's des Grossen, Friedrich Wilhelm's II und Friedrich Wilhelm's III. 1741-1806*, Berlin 1903.

Fechner Hermann, *Die Königlichen Eisenhüttenwerke Malapane und Kreuzburgerhütte bis zu ihrer Uebernahme durch das Schlesische Oberbergamt. 1753 bis* 1780, 'Zeitschrift für Berg- Hütten und Salinen-Wesen', 43 (1903), pp.1-28 [reprint from issue 43 (1985), pp 75-102].

Fechner Hermann, *Die Wirkungen der preußischen Merkantilismus in Schlesien*, 'Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftssgeschichte', 2 (1909), pp. 315-323 [reprint].

Fenske Hans, *Bürokratie in Deutschland. Vom späten Kaiserreich bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin 1985.

Fenske Hans, *Der Landrat als Wahlmacher. Eine Fallstudie zu den Reichstagswahlen von 1881*, 'Die Verwaltung', 4 (1979), pp. 433-546.

Fikus Sebastian, *Geneza Protokołu Genewskiego z dnia 20 października 1921 roku w niemieckiej historiografii i publicystyce*, PhD dissertation, Wydział Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana

Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie (=Faculty of History and Social Sciences The Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw), Warszawa 2003.

Freymark Hans, *Schlesiens Bedeutung für deutsche Wirtschaft und Kultur*, Breslau 1926 (=Schriften der Industrie und Handelskammer, No. 2).

Freymark Hans, *Schlesiens Wirtschaft - eine deutsche Lebensfrage,* Breslau 1927 (=Schriften der Industrie und Handelskammer, No. 10).

Fuchs Konrad, *Gestalten und Ereignisse aus Schlesiens Wirtschaft, Kultur und Politik*, Dortmund 1992.

Fuhrmann Horst, *„Fern von gebildeten Menschen". Eine oberschlesische Kleinstadt um 1870*, München 1989.

Galos Adam, *Polskość Śląska w XIX w. w świetle niemieckich materiałów statystycznych*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów Śląska*, ed. Ewa Maleczyńska, vol. 2, Warszawa 1956, pp. 1-39.

Gawrecki Dan, *Schlesien in der Habsburgermonarchie – Begriffe, Territorium, Periodisirung* [in:] *Śląsk za panowania Habsburgów,* eds Wiesław Lesiuk i Michał Lis, Opole 2001, pp. 73-85.

Gawrecki Dan, *Śląskość w państwie Habsburgów 1742-1918*, 'Studia Śląskie', 52 (1993), pp. 47-60.

Gawrecki Dan et al., *Dějiny Českého Slezska*, Opava 2003.

Gayda Andreas, *Die Rolle des Altkatholizismus in Oberschlesien zur Zeit des Kulturkampfes*, [in:] *Geschichte des Christlichen Lebens im schlesischen Raum*, vol. 3, eds Joachim Köher, Rainer Bende, Münster 2002, pp. 640-670.

Gelles Romulad, *Gospodarka Wrocławia w latach I wojny światowej*, 'Studia Śląskie', 28 (1975), pp. 74-111.

Gelles Romuald, *Położenie materialne ludności Wrocławia w latach I wojny światowej*, 'Studia Śląskie', 34 (1978), pp. 243-279.

Gelles Romuald, Pabisz Jerzy, *Materiały do położenia klasy robotniczej na Śląsku w latach 1914-1917*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 10 (1979), pp. 251-293.

Gerber Mattias R., *Die Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur (1803-1945)*, Sigmaringen 1988 (=Beihefte zum 'Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau', vol. 9).

Geschichte des St. Annaberges. Historia Góry Świętej Anny na Górnym Śląsku. Oprac. na podstawie niepublikowanych źródeł przez Chryzogona Reischa, ed. Józefat Roman Gohly, Wrocław 2006.

Gillis John R., *Aristocracy and bureaucracy in nineteenth-century Prussia*, 'Past and Present', 41 (1968), pp. 105-129.

Glensk Joachim, *Czarna księga prasy śląskiej,* vol. 1: *Górny Śląsk*, Opole 2006.

Gładkowski Krzysztof, *Kanzel/Ambona. Protestancka wspólnota lokalna na Górnym Śląsku*, Olsztyn 2008.

Głąbiński Stanisław, *Ludność polska na Śląsku*, 'Wędrowiec', 17 (1882).

Gołaszewski Janusz, *Dzieje linii kolejowej z Wrocławia Psiego Pola do Trzebnicy (1886-1945)*, 'Rocznik Wrocławski', 9 (2004), pp. 217-236.

Górecki Jan, *Pielgrzymki na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1869-1914*, Katowice 1994.

Grahl Christian, *Die Abschaffung der Advokatur unter Friedrich dem Grossen*, Göttingen 1993.

Grünhagen Colmar, *Die Einrichtung des Militärwesens in Schlesien bei die Beginn der preußischen Herrschaft*, 'Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Althertum Schlesiens', 33 (1889), pp. 1-28.

Grünhagen Colmar, *Geschichte des ersten schlesischen Krieges nach archivalischen Quellen dargestellt*: vol. 1 *Bis zum Abkommen von Klein-Schnellendorf*, Gotha 1881.

Grünhagen Colmar, *Zwei Demagogen im Dienste Friedrich des Grossen (Döblin und Morgenstern),* 'Abhandlungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur', 1 (1861), pp. 55-99.

Gusinde Konrad, *Die Mundart von Schönwald bei Gleiwitz. Eine vergessene deutsche Sprachinsel im polnischen Oberschlesien*, Breslau 1911.

Hagen William W., *German History in Modern Times. Four Lives of the Nation*, Cambridge 2012.

Harc Lucyna, Wiszewski Przemysław, Żerelik Rościsław, *Czyj to region, czyli słów kilka o pewnym projekcie badawczym*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 67 (2012), No. 4, pp. 2-6.

Harc Lucyna, Wiszewski Przemysław, Żerelik Rościsław, *Między świadomością narodową i regionalną. Śląsk podzielony (1918-1945)*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 68 (2013), No. 4, pp. 3-5.

Harc Lucyna, Wiszewski Przemysław, Żerelik Rościsław, *Śląsk jako region spójny czy zmierzający ku dezintegracji? Okres nowożytny (1526-1740)*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 68 (2013), No. 2, pp. 3-4.

Harnisch Hartmut, *Vom Oktoberedikt des Jahres 1807 zur Deklaration von 1816. Problematik und Charakter der preußischen Agrarreformgesetzgebung zwischen 1807 und 1816*, Berlin 1978, pp. 229-293.

Hein-Kircher Heidi, *Region jako punkt wyjścia do badań nad kwestiami narodowymi. Znaczenie mitów, symboli, rytuałów i kultów,* [in:] *Górny Śląsk wyobrażony: wokół mitów, symboli i bohaterów dyskursów narodowych,* eds Juliane Haubord-Stolle, Bernard Linek, Opole-Marburg 2005, pp. 36-51.

Herzig Arno, *Die Herausbildung eines deutschen Nationalismus in Schlesien im. 19. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Przełomy w historii. XVI Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich*. *Pamiętnik*, vol. 1, Wrocław 2000, pp. 239-252.

Herzig Arno, Ruchniewicz Małgorzata, *Dzieje Ziemi Kłodzkiej*, Hamburg–Wrocław, 1st edition 2006, 2nd edition 2008.

von Hellbach Johann Christian, *Adels-Lexikon. Oder Handbuch über die historischen genealogischen und diplomatischen, zum Thiel auch heraldischen Nachrichten vom hohen und niedern Adel: besonders in den deutschen Bundesstaaten, so wie von dem östreichischen, böhmischen, mährenschen, preußischen, schlesischen und laizistischen Adel*, vol. 1, Ilmenau 1825.

Historia chłopów śląskich, ed. Stefan Inglot, Warszawa 1979.

Historia chłopów polskich, vol. 2: *Okres zaborów,* ed. Stefan Inglot et al., Warszawa 1972.

Historia Górnego Śląska. Polityka, gospodarka i kultura europejskiego regionu, eds Joachim Bahlcke, Dan Gawrecki, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Gliwice 2011.

Historia Pomorza, vol. 2: *Do roku 1815*, ed. Gerard Labuda, Poznań 1984.

Historia Śląska, ed. Marek Czapliński, 1st edition Wrocław 2002; 2nd edition Wrocław 2007 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No. 2364).

Historia Śląska, vol. 1: *do roku 1763*, part 3: *od końca XVI w. do r. 1763*, ed. K. Maleczyński et al., Wrocław 1963.

Historia Śląska, vol. 2: *1763-1850*, part 1: *1763-1806*, ed. Władysław Długoborski et al., Wrocław 1960.

Historia Śląska, vol. 2: *1763-1850*, part 2: *1807-1850*, ed. Stanisław Michalkiewicz et al., Wrocław 1970.

Historia Śląska, vol. 3: *1850-1918*, part 1: *1850-1890*, ed. Stanisław Michalkiewicz et al., Wrocław 1976.

Historia Śląska, vol. 3: *1850-1918*, part 2: *1891-1918*, ed. Stanisław Michalkiewicz et al., Wrocław 1985.

von Hodenberg Chrisitina, *Aufstand der Weber. Die Revolte von 1844 und ihr Aufstieg zum Mythos*, Bonn 1997.

Hoffmann Hugo, *Die Lautverhältnisse der Mundart von Lehmwasser Kreis Waldenburg in Schlesien*, 'Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mundarten', 1 (1906), pp. 316-344.

Hoffmann Karl Gottlieb, *Geschichte von Schlesien aus der altesten Zeit bis der unsere Tage,* Schweidnitz 1829.

Holz Bärbel, *Berliner Personalpolitik in einer „Braven" Provinz. Ernennungen zu den obersten Verwaltungbehörden Pommerns (1815–1858)*, 'Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeuschetschlands', 52 (2007), pp. 263-302.

Hylland Eriksen Thomas, *Ethnicity and nationalism: Anthropological perspectives,* London 2002.

Janczak Julian, *Dzieje stosunków etnicznych na Śląsku,* [in:] *Śląsk – etniczno-kulturowa wspólnota i różnorodność*, ed. Barbara Bazielich, Wrocław 1995, pp. 23-29.

Janczak Julian, *Rozmieszczenie produkcji roślinnej i zwierzęcej na Śląsku na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1964.

Jaros Jerzy, *Historia górnictwa węglowego w Zagłębiu Górnośląskim do 1814 roku,* Wrocław –Warszawa–Kraków 1965.

Jaros Jerzy, *Historia górnictwa węglowego w Zagłębiu Górnośląskim w latach 1914-1945*, Kraków 1969.

Jaros Jerzy, *Zarys dziejów górnictwa węglowego*, Warszawa–Kraków 1975.

Jerczyński Marian, Koziarski Stanisław, *150 lat kolei na Śląsku*, Opole 1992.

Jeserich Kurt, *Die preußischen Provinzen. Ein Beitrag zur Verwaltungs- und Verfassungsreform*, Berlin–Friedenau 1931.

Jezierski Andrzej, Leszczyńska Cecylia, *Historia gospodarcza Polski*, 3. edition revised and supplemented, Warszawa 2003.

Jońca Karol, *Projekty budowy dróg wodnych Odra-Dunaj i Odra-Wisła w latach 1914-1945,* 'Studia Śląskie', New Series, 6 (1963), pp. 181-186.

Kaczmarek Ryszard, *„Niemiecki nacjonalizm" – pruski patriotyzm – „polskie postawy narodowe". Problemy terminologiczne i źródłoznawcze w badaniu postaw żołnierzy pułków górnośląskich w XIX wieku*, [in:] *Silesia Historica. Badania nad historią Śląska. Metody i praktyka historiografii oraz nowe poszukiwania/Forschungen zur Geschichte Schlesiens: Methoden und Praxis der Historiographie und neue Unterschungen*, eds Sławomir Moździoch, Stanisław Rosik, Thomas Wünsch, Wrocław 2012, pp. 71-76.

Kamionka Roman, *Die Reorganisation der Kreiseinteilung Schlesiens in der Stein-Hardenbergschen Reformperiode*, Breslau 1934.

Kania Maria Helena, Schreiber-Kurpies Dorota, *Bezpośrednie inwestycje zagraniczne w gospodarce Śląska Opolskiego w XIX, XX i XXI wieku*, [in:] *Programowanie rozwoju regionu. Ład ekonomiczny i środowiskowo-przestrzenny*, ed. Krystian Heffner, Opole 2007, pp. 63-80.

Kiełbasa Antoni, *Salwatorianie z ziem polskich w latach 1881-1903*, Wrocław 1998.

Kipper Rainer, *Der Germanenmythos im Deutschen Kaiserreich: Formen und Funktionen historischer Selbstthematisierung*, Götingen 2002.

Klein Edmund, *Śląskie koncepcje separatystyczne (listopad 1918 - kwiecień 1919*), 'Studia Śląskie', 23 (1978), pp. 27-65.

Klueting Harm, *Die politisch-administrative Integration Preußisch-Schlesiens unter Friedrich II*, [in:] *Kontinuität und Wandel. Schlesien zwischen Österreich und Preußen. Ergebnisse eines Symposions in Würzburg vom 29. bis 31. Oktober 1987*, eds Peter Baumgart, Ulrich Schmilewski, Sigmaringen 1990, pp. 41-62.

Kobienia Joachim, *Muttersprachliche Elemente im Rituale. Eine Studie zu den Breslauer Dioezesanritualien von 1319 bis 1931*, Opole 2002.

Kocurek Danuta, *Oświata i kultura wyznacznikami tożsamości region*, [in:] *Śląsk Cieszyński w latach 1741-1918 w aspekcie czynników integrujących i dezintegrujących region. Studium monograficzne*, Kraków 2013, pp. 71-108.

Kokot Józef, *Polityka gospodarcza Prus i Niemiec na Śląsku,* Poznań 1948.

Konopczyński Władysław, *Fryderyk Wielki a Polska*, Poznań 1947.

Konopnicka Małgorzata, *Szlachcic śląski w administracji powiatu. Kryteria wyboru i motywy karier landratów w latach 1740–1806*, [in:] *Szlachta europejska w strukturach lokalnych XVI-XVIII wieku*, eds Małgorzata Konopnicka, Jarosław Kuczer, Wojciech Strzyżewski, Zielona Góra 2010, pp. 219-249.

Kopeć Eugeniusz, *„My i oni" na polskim Śląsku (1918-1939)*, 2nd edition revised and supplemented, Katowice 1986.

Kopiec Jan, *Kościół na Śląsku wobec wyznań XIX i XX wieku*, [in:] *Zakony żeńskie na Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Wanda Musialik, Opole 2006, pp. 9-16.

Kortus Bogdan, *Zmiany w uprzemysłowieniu województwa opolskiego w okresie od 1882 do 1956*, 'Materiały i Studia Opolskie', 4 (1962), No. 1/8, pp. 31-34.

Korzeniowska Wiesława, *Państwowe, kościelne, gospodarczo-społeczne elementy integrujące i dezintegrujące region*, [in:] *Śląsk Cieszyński w latach 1741-1918 w aspekcie czynników integrujących i dezintegrujących region. Studium monograficzne,* Kraków 2013, pp. 9-69.

Koselleck Rudolf, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution: Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale Bewegung vom 1791 bis 1848*, Stuttgart 1967.

Koselleck Richard, *Struktury federalne a kształtowanie się narodu w Niemczech*, Warszawa 2001.

Kowalczyk-Dudała Halina, *Młodzież żydowska w dziejach gimnazjum w Królewskiej Hucie w latach 1877-1914*, [in:] *Z dziejów oświaty w Chorzowie. Materiały z sesji naukowej 8 października 1997 r.*, Chorzów Batory 1998, pp. 17-30.

Koziarski Stanisław M., *Komunikacja na Śląsku*, Opole 2000.

Koziarski Stanisław M., *Rozwój sieci kolejowej na Śląsku*, Opole 1990.

Köhler Joachim, *Geistliche Gemeinschaften und Bewegungen in Bistum Breslau. Wspólnoty życia duchowego i ruchy religijne w diecezji wrocławskiej*, [in:] *1000 Jahre Bistum Breslau. Erbe und Auftrag der schlesischen Kirche. 1000 lat Diecezji Wrocławskiej. Dziedzictwo i posłannictwo śląskiego Kościoła*, eds Michael Hirschfeld, Markus Trautmann, Dümen–Piechowice 2000, pp. 98-125.

Krasuski Jerzy, *Kulturkampf. Katolicyzm i liberalizm w Niemczech w XIX wieku*, Wrocław 2009.

Kruszewski Tomasz, *Organizacja opieki społecznej w działalności samorządu prowincjonalnego na Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku*, Wrocław 2010.

Kruszewski Tomasz, *Sejm prowincjonalny na Śląsku (1824-1933*), Wrocław 2000.

Kubica Grażyna, *Śląskość i protestantyzm. Antropologiczne studia o Śląsku Cieszyńskim, proza, fotografia*, Kraków 2011.

Kucharczyk Grzegorz, *Kulturkampf. Walka Berlina z katolicyzmem (1846–1918)*, Warszawa 2009.

Kučera Rudolf, *Staat, Adel und Elitenwandel. Die Adelsverleihungen in Schlesien und Böhmen im Vergleich*, Göttingen 2012 (=Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, vol. 205).

Kunicki Wojciech, *Śląsk. Rzeczywistości wyobrażone,* [in:] *Śląsk. Rzeczywistości wyobrażone*, eds Wojciech Kunicki, Natalia i Krzysztof Żarscy, Poznań 2009, pp. 7-78.

Kulak Teresa, *„Czem będziemy bez Górnego Śląska". Górnoślązacy w publicystyce Stanisława Bełzy (1849-1929)*, [in:] *Ślązacy w oczach własnych i obcych*, ed. Antoni Barciak, Katowice–Zabrze 2010, pp. 248-261.

Kulak Teresa, *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 2: *Od twierdzy fryderycjańskiej do twierdzy hitlerowskiej*, Wrocław 2001.

Kulak Teresa, *Metropolia czy tylko stolica prusko-niemieckiej prowincji? Spojrzenie na Wrocław na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 56 (1999), No. 3, pp. 285-298.

Kulak Teresa, *Pojęcie ojczyzny w świadomości Niemców na Śląsku w XIX-XX wieku (do 1939 r.),* [in:] *Pamiętnik Powszechnego XV Zjazdu Historyków Polskich*, vol. 3: *Małe ojczyzny na kresach II Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Przemysław Hauser, Gdańsk–Toruń 1995, pp. 34-44.

Kulak Teresa, *Problemy demograficzne i narodowościowe Dolnego Śląska,* [in:] *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna,* ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006, pp. 388-402.

Kulak Teresa, *Procesy narodowe na obszarze pogranicznym Dolnego Śląska i Wielkopolski od polowy XIX wieku do 1939 r.,* [in:] *Józef Chlebowczyk – badacz procesów narodotwórczych w Europie XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Maria Wanda Wanatowicz, Katowice 2007, pp. 364-394.

Kulak Teresa, *Walka o jedność Śląska*, [in:] Teresa Kulak, *Polityka antypolska dolnośląskich władz prowincjonalnych w latach 1922-1933*, Wrocław 1981, pp. 22-30.

Kulak Teresa, *Wizerunek Ślązaka w polskich opisach etnograficznych i relacjach z podróży po Śląsku w II połowie XIX w.*, [in:] *Wokół stereotypów Niemców i Polaków,* ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 1993, pp. 99-116.

Kulak Teresa, *Wrocławskie studia Wojciecha Korfantego (1896-1901)*, [in:] *Wojciech Korfanty 1873-1939. W 130. rocznicę urodzin*, Wrocław 2003, pp. 13-26.

Kulak Teresa, *Z Niemcami czy z Rosją? Uwagi nad politycznym wyborem Narodowej Demokracji przed I wojną światową*, [in:] *Śląsk, Polska, Niemcy*, eds Krystyn Matwijowski, Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 1990 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia 74), pp. 217-227.

Kulak Teresa, Mrozowicz Wojciech, *Syców i okolice od czasów najdawniejszych po współczesność*, Wrocław–Syców 2000.

Kulak Teresa, Pater Mieczysław, Wrzesiński Wojciech, *Uniwersytet Wrocławski 1702-2002*, Wrocław 2002.

Kurpiers Dorota, *Towarzystwo św. Wincentego w biskupstwie wrocławskim i na Ziemi Kłodzkiej (1848-1914)* [in printing].

Kurowski Błażej Bernard OFM, *Franciszkanie prowincji św. Jadwigi na Śląsku 1887-1939*, Wrocław 1997.

Kwaśny Zbigniew, *Rozwój przemysłu na Górnym Śląsku w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1983 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No. 570, Historia 39).

Kwaśny Zbigniew, *Rozwój przemysłu w majątkach Schaffgotschów w latach 1750-1850*, Wrocław 1965.

Kwiatek Jolanta, *Górnośląska szkoła ludowa na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Opole 1987.

Kwiatek Jolanta, *Księża misjonarze w Krakowie a Górny Śląsk na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, 'Kwartalnik Opolski', 1992, No. 3-4, pp. 80-99.

Lewald Fanny, *Breslaus Stadt-Haushalt. Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung als Beitrag zur Würdigung der Erfolge des Preußischen Städte-Ordnung*, Leipzig 1835.

Lieven Dominic, *Abschied von Macht und Arten*. *Der Europäische Adel 1815-1914*, Frankfurt a. Main 1995.

Limanowski Bolesław, *Odrodzenie i rozwój narodowości polskiej na Śląsku*, Warszawa 1911.

Linek Bernard, *Sedantag – święto narodowe cesarstwa niemieckiego na Górnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Górny Śląsk wyobrażony: wokół mitów, symboli i bohaterów dyskursów narodowych*, eds Juliane Haubold-Stolle, Bernard Linek, Opole–Marburg 2005, pp. 179-190.

Linke Otto, *Freiherr Theodor von Merckel im Dienste fürs Vaterland,* vol. 1.: *Bis September 1810*, Breslau 1907.

Lipiński Edward, *Historia powszechnej myśli ekonomicznej do roku 1870*, 2nd edition, Warszawa 1981.

Lipok-Bierwiaczonek Maria, *Etnograficzny obraz Górnego Śląska*, [in:] *Historia Górnego Śląska. Polityka, gospodarka i kultura europejskiego regionu*, eds Joachim Bahlcke, Dan Gawrecki, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Gliwice 2011, pp. 373-388.

Lis Michał, *Górny Śląsk. Zarys dziejów do połowy XX wieku*, Opole 2001.

Lis Michał, *Kultura na Górnym Śląsku od połowy XIX do połowy XX w*., [in:] *Przyczynek do refleksji nad kulturą Górnego Śląska*, eds Michał Lis, Zenona Maria Nowak, Opole 2011, pp. 81-94.

Ładogórski Tadeusz, *Rozmieszczenie ludności i miast na Śląsku w końcu XVIII w*., 'Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski', 2 (1968), pp. 89-94.

Madajczyk Piotr, *Obcość jako wyznacznik powstawania i funkcjonowania granic etniczno-narodowych na Górnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Górny Śląsk wyobrażony: wokół mitów, symboli i bohaterów dyskursów narodowych*, eds Juliane Haubord-Stolle, Bernard Linek, Opole–Marburg 2005, pp. 109-122.

Mai Paul, *Die Folgen des „Kulturkampfes" für die schlesische Kirche*, 'Archiv für schlesischen Kirchengeschichte', 59 (2001), pp. 229-243.

Mandziuk Józef, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku*. *Czasy nowożytne (1741-1845)*: vol. 3, part 1, Warszawa 2012.

Mandziuk Józef, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego na Śląsku, Czasy nowożytne (1845–1887)*: vol. 3, part 2, Warszawa 2008.

Maroń Jerzy, *Pruski system militarny*, [in:] *Dolny Śląsk. Monografia historyczna*, ed. Wojciech Wrzesiński, Wrocław 2006, pp. 254-257.

Matuschek Herbert, *Das Polnisch der Oberschlesier. Zu den Kontroversen um ein Idiom (Fortsetzung),* 'Oberschlesisches Jahrbucht', 14/15 (1998/1999), pp. 193-214.

Mendel Edward, *Dzień powszedni na Śląsku Opolskim w czasie I wojny światowej,* Opole 1987.

Mendel Edward, *Polacy na Górnym Śląsku w latach I wojny światowej. Położenie i postawa*, Katowice 1971.

Menzel Josef Joachim, *Die Säkularisation in Schlesien 1810*, [in:] *Säkularisationen in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. Jochen Köhler, Köln 1984, pp. 85-102.

Michalkiewicz Stanisław, *Niektóre zagadnienia z dziejów górnictwa w okręgu wałbrzyskim z drugiej połowie XVIII w*., 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 10 (1955), No. 1-2, pp. 183-217.

Michalkiewicz Stanisław, *Powstanie chłopskie na Górnym Śląsku w 1811 roku*, Wrocław 1967.

Michalkiewicz Stanisław, *Struktura śląskiego proletariatu przemysłowego w latach 1849-1875*, Wrocław 1970 (=Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska, vol. 10).

Michalkiewicz Stanisław, Wiatrowski Leszek, *Historia chłopów śląskich w latach 1763-1918. Okres kształtowania kapitalizmu*, [in:] *Historia chłopów śląskich*, ed. Stefan Inglot, Wrocław 1979, pp. 183-275.

Mirek Agata, *Dynamika powstawania żeńskich gromadzeń zakonnych w XIX wieku na ziemiach polskich*, [in:] *Zakony żeńskie na Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Wanda Musialik, Opole 2006, pp. 26-44.

von Mohl Robert*, Encyklopedia umiejętności politycznych*, translated by Antoni Białecki, Warszawa 2003.

Molik Witold, *Procesy asymilacyjne i akulturacyjne w stosunkach polsko-niemieckich w XIX i na początku XX wieku. Stan i postulaty badań*, [in:] *Procesy akulturacji/asymilacji na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim w XIX i XX wieku*, eds Witold Molik, Robert Traba, Poznań 1999, pp. 65-96.

Morgenbesser Michael, *Geschichte von Schlesiens*, ed. Heinrich Schubert, 4th edition, Breslau 1908.

Mucha Janusz, *Stosunki etniczne we współczesnej myśli socjologicznej*, Warszawa 2006.

Muncy Lysbeth Walker, *The Junker in the Prussian Administration Under William II 1888-1914*, Rhode Island 1944.

Musialik Wanda, *Franciszkański nekrolog świadectwem potencjału franciszkanów wyznaczonych do komisariatu św. Jadwigi Zgromadzenia Braci Mniejszych w 1902 r. – portret zbiorowy*, [in:] *Observare Evangelium. Wrocławska Księga Jubileuszu 980-lecia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych*, ed. F. M. Rosiński, Wrocław 2009, pp. 377-384.

Musialik Wanda, *Mieszkańcy pruskiego Śląska a Towarzystwo Jezusowe w XIX w. i pierwszej połowie XX w.*, [in:] *Jezuicka ars historica. Prace ofiarowane Księdzu Profesorowi Ludwikowi Grzebieniowi*, eds Marek Ingot, Stanisław Obirek, Kraków 2001, pp. 411-427.

Musialik Wanda, *W kręgu polityki i władzy. Polskie środowiska przywódcze górnośląskiego obszaru plebiscytowego z lat 1921-1939*, Opole 1999.

Musialik Wanda, *Z ziem czeskich, słowackich i węgierskich. Imigranckie rody szlacheckie na Śląsku do końca XVIII w.* [a paper presented on a conference „Via viatores quaerit. Mobilność społeczna w dziejach krajów grupy wyszehradzkiej" Gdynia 29th May 2014].

Myszor Jerzy, *Duchowieństwo katolickie na Śląsku 1742-1914. Z dziejów duszpasterstwa w diecezji wrocławskiej*, Katowice 2011.

Nabiel Edward, *Gospodarka wojenna Niemiec 1914-1918*, Warszawa 1959.

Nalepa-Orłowska Irma, *Fryderycjańskie osadnictwo hutnicze na Opolszczyźnie 1754-1803*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 5 (1963), pp. 97-161.

Neubach Helmuth, *Parteien und Politiker in der Grafschaft Glatz 1867–1918*, [in:] *Glaciographia Nova. Festschrift für Dieter Pohl*, ed. Arno Herzig, Hamburg 2004, pp. 232-249.

Nipperdey Thomas, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866*, vol. 1: *Bürgerwelt und starker Staat*, München 1993.

Nipperdey Thomas, *Rozważania o niemieckiej historii. Eseje*, translated by Andrzej Kopacki, Warszawa 1999.

Nowosielska-Sobel Joanna, *Od ziemi rodzinnej do ojczyzny ideologicznej. Ruch obrony stron ojczystych (Heimatschutz) ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska (1871-1933*), Wrocław 2013.

Oblicze Ziem Odzyskanych, vol. 1: *Przyroda. Gospodarka,* ed. Ewa Maleczyńska, Wrocław–Warszawa 1948.

Oder – Odra: Blicke auf einen europäischen Strom, eds Karl Schlogel, Beata Halicka, Frankfurt a. Mein 2008.

Okólska Hanna, *Miejsca spoczynku władców Wrocławia oraz członków władz miejskich na przestrzeni dziejów*, Wrocław 2006.

Olszar Henryk, *Duchowieństwo katolickie Diecezji Śląskiej (Katowickiej) w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Katowice 2000.

Orzechowski Kazimierz, *Chłopskie posiadanie ziemi na Górnym Śląsku u schyłku epoki feudalnej*, Opole 1950.

Orzechowski Kazimierz, *Historia ustroju Śląska 1202-1740*, Wrocław 2005.

Orzechowski Kazimierz, *Terytorialne podziały na Śląsku*, 'Kwartalnik Opolski', 18 (1972), No. 2, pp. 28-44.

Orzechowski Kazimierz, Przybytek Dariusz, Ptak Marian, *Dolny Śląsk: podziały terytorialne od X do XX wieku*, Wrocław 2008.

Orzechowski Marian, *Narodowa Demokracja na Górnym Śląsku (do 1918 roku)*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1965.

Orzechowski Marian, *Wojciech Korfanty. Biografia polityczna*, Wrocław 1975.

Ossowski Stanisław, *Analiza socjologiczna pojęcia ojczyzny*, [in:] Stanisław Ossowski, *Dzieła*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1967, pp. 210-226.

Pabisz Jerzy, *Wyniki wyborów do Parlamentu Związku Północnoniemieckiego i Parlamentu Rzeszy Niemieckiej na terenie Śląska w latach 1867-1918*, 'Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska', 7 (1966), pp. 17-23.

Pajewski Janusz, *Węzłowe problemy dziejów Prus XVIII-XX wieku*, Poznań 1971.

Partsch Josef, *Schlesien an der Schwelle und am Ausgange des XIX. Jahrhunderts. Festrede an der Hundertjahrfeier der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur am 17. Dezember 1903*, Breslau 1903.

Partsch Josef, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde für das deutsche Volk auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage,* vol. 1: *Das ganze Land,* Breslau 1896; vol. 2: *Landschaften und Siedlungen,* Breslau 1911.

Pater Mieczysław, *Centrum a ruch polski na Górnym Śląsku (1879-1893)*, Katowice 1971.

Pater Mieczysław, *Katolicki ruch polityczny na Śląsku w latach 1848-1871*, Wrocław 1967.

Pater Mieczysław, *Polska myśl polityczna na Górnym Śląsku w XIX wieku*, [in:] *Polska myśl polityczna na ziemiach polskich pod pruskim panowaniem w XIX wieku*, ed. Sławomir Kalembka, Warszawa 1988, pp. 79-107.

Pater Mieczysław, *Ruch polski na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1879-1893*, Wrocław 1969.

Pater Mieczysław, *Szafranek Józef*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny katolickiego duchowieństwa śląskiego XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Mieczysław Pater, Katowice 1996, p. 409.

Piernikarczyk Józef, *Historja górnictwa i hutnictwa na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice 1936.

Pietrzak-Pawłowska Irena, *Przewrót przemysłowy i warunki kapitalistycznej industrializacji na ziemiach polskich do 1918 r.*, [in:] *Uprzemysłowienie ziem polskich w XIX i XX w. Studia i materiały,* Wrocław 1970, pp. 57-103.

Podruczny Grzegorz, Przerwa Tomasz, *Twierdza Srebrna Góra,* Wrocław 2010.

Podział Śląska w 1922 r. Okoliczności i następstwa, eds Andrzej Brożek, Teresa Kulak, Wrocław 1996.

Popiołek Kazimierz, *Górnośląski przemysł górniczo-hutniczy w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, Katowice–Kraków 1965.

Popiołek Kazimierz, *Polska Wiosna Ludów na Górnym Śląsku*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 3 (1948), No. 1, pp. 1-77.

Popiołek Kazimierz, *Zaborcze plany kapitalistów śląskich*, Katowice–Wrocław 1947.

Posern-Zieliński Aleksander, *Akulturacja i asymilacja – dwie strony procesu etnicznej zmiany w ujęciu antropologii i etnohistorii*, [in:] *Procesy akulturacji/asymilacji na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim w XIX i XX wieku*, eds Witold Molik, Robert Traba, Poznań 1999, pp. 43 -64.

Przerwa Tomasz, *Odkryli dla nas piękno gór. Trzy sudeckie organizacje górskie 1881-1945: Verband der Gebirgsvereine an der Eule, Waldenburger Gebirgsverein, Gebirgsverein Zobtengebirge*, Toruń 2003.

Przerwa Tomasz, *Rejencja dzierżoniowska – przypadek pewnej reformy administracyjnej*, [in:] *Śląsk w czasie i przestrzeni*, eds Joanna Nowosielskia-Sobel, Grzegorz Strauchold, Wrocław 2009, pp. 53-69.

Raba Joel, *Robotnicy śląscy 1850-1870. Praca i byt*, Londyn 1970.

Radlak Bogusław, *Rozwój przemysłu tkackiego na Śląsku i powstanie tkaczy w 1844 r.*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów Śląska*, vol. 2, ed. Ewa Maleczyńska, Warszawa 1956, pp. 88-96.

Region divided. Times of Nation-States (1918-1945), eds Marek Czapliński, Przemysław Wiszewski (=Cuius Regio? Ideological and territorial cohesion of Silesia, eds Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik, vol. 4).

Reif Heinz, *Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, München 1999 (=Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, vol. 55).

Rejewski Harro-Jürgen, *Die Pflicht zur politischen Treue im preußischen Beamtenrecht (1850–1918). Eine rechtshistorische Untersuchung anhand von Ministerialakten aus dem Geheimen Staatsarchiv der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Berlin 1973.

Roemer Hans, *Die Baumwollspinnerei in Schlesien bis zum preußischen Zollgesetz 1818,* Breslau 1914.

Rutkowski-Pobóg Adam*, Historja miasta Królewskiej Huty*, Królewska Huta 1927.

Rogmann Heinz, *Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung im preußischen Osten in den letzten hundert Jahren*, Breslau 1936.

Rokoszowa Jolanta, *Kontakty językowe we współczesnej Polsce,* 'Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego', 59 (2003), pp. 5-24.

Rose Alexander, *Deutsche und Polen in Oberschlesien*, Berlin 1919.

Rosenberg Heinrich, *Die Weltwirtschaftskrisis vom 1857-1859*, Stuttgart–Berlin 1943.

Salmonowicz Stanisław, *Fryderyk II*, Wrocław 1981.

Salmonowicz Stanisław, *Prusy. Dzieje państwa i społeczeństwa*, Poznań 1987.

Scheer Andrzej, *Zmiany granic Śląska na przestrzeni wieków*, Świdnica 2002.

Schindling Anton, *Friedrichs des Großen Toleranz und seine katholischen Untertanen*, [in:] *Kontinuität und Wandel. Schlesien zwischen Österreich und Preußen. Ergebnisse eines Symposions in Würzburg vom 29. Bis 31. Oktober 1987*, eds Peter Baumgart, Ulrich Schmilewski, Sigmaringen 1990, pp. 257-272.

Schinkel Friedrich, *Polen, Preußen und Deutschland*, Breslau 1931.

Schlesische Landeskunde. Geschichtliche Abteilung, ed. Friedrich Kampers, Leipzig 1913.

Schmid Margarete, *Erich Przywara SJ (1889-1972)*, Köln 2002 (=Edition Cardo, vol. 36).

Schmidt Walter, *Działalność polityczna Wilhelma Wolffa na Śląsku do roku 1946*, 'Studia i materiały z dziejów Śląska', 5 (1963), pp. 347-403.

Schmidt Walter, *Friedrich Wilhelm Müller (1801–1868). Ein Burschenschafter, protestantischer Geistlicher und achtundvierziger Demokrat aus Schlesien*, Berlin 2003 (online access: http://www.burschenschaftsgeschichte.de/pdf/schmidt_friedrich_wilhelm_ mueller.pdf).

Schmidt Walter, *Schlesische Demokratie von 1848/49. Geschichte und Akteure*, vol. 1: *Geschichte der schlesischen Demokratiebewegung*, Berlin 2012.

Schmidt Walter, *Wilhelm Wolff im vormärzlichen Schlesien*, [in:] Helmut Bleiber, Walter Schmidt, *Schlesien auf dem Weg in die bürgerliche Gesellschaft.*

Bewegungen und Protagonisten der schlesischen Demokratie im Umfeld von 1848, vol. 2: *Protagonisten der schlesischen Demokratiebewegung*, Berlin 2012.

Schott Christian-Erdmann, *Die Alimentierung der schlesischen evangelischen Landpfarrer zwischen 1785 und 1849,* 'Jahrbuch für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte', 75 (1997), pp. 93-122.

Schott Christian-Erdmann, *Die Anfänge der Diakonie im Schlesien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] Festschrift zum 150jährigen Jubiläum der Schlesischen Genossenschaft des Johanniterordens, ed. Christian-Erdmann Schott, Würzburg 2003, pp. 57-79.

Schott Christian-Erdmann, *Von der Staatskirche zur staatsfreien Kitrche*. *Zum Weg der schlesischen evangelischen Kirche 1806 bis 1919*, [in:] *Geschichte* des *christlichen Lebens* im *schlesischen Raum*, vol 2, eds Joachim Köhle, Rainer Bendel, Münster 2002, pp. 699-708.

Schreiber-Kurpiers Dorota, *Domy Dobrego pasterza we Wrocławiu i Świętej Katarzynie w świetle sprawozdań z lat 1859-1913. Opieka nad „trudną" młodzieżą żeńska na Śląsku*, [in:] *Zakony żeńskie na Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Wanda Musialik, Opole 2006, pp. 45-60.

Schulze Otto, *Predigergeschichte der Stadt Breslau*, Breslau 1938.

Schuppener Henriette, "*Nichts war umsonst*" *– Harald Poelchau und der deutsche Widerstand,* Münster 2006.

Seyda Marian, *Polska na przełomie dziejów*, part 1, Poznań 1927.

Sękowski Roman, *Herbarz szlachty śląskiej informator genealogiczno-heraldyczny*, vol. 1-6, Katowice 2003-2008.

Sommer Fedor, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde als Grundlagen für den Unterricht*, Breslau 1897.

Süle Tibor, *Preußische Bürokratietradition. Zur Entwicklung von Verwaltung und Beamtenschaft in Deutschland 1871–1918*, Göttingen 1988.

Sydor Jerzy, *Wiosna Ludów w powiatach górskich Dolnego Śląska*, Wrocław 1969.

Symonides Dorota, *Folklor a tożsamość Śląska*, [in:] *Kultura ludowa a tożsamość Śląska*, ed. Dorota Symonides, Katowice 1990, pp. 21-28.

Styś Wincenty, *Rolnictwo na Dolnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Oblicze Ziem Odzyskanych*, vol. 1: *Przyroda. Gospodarka,* ed. Ewa Maleczyńska, Wrocław–Warszawa 1948, pp. 247-294.

Szewczyk Grażyna Barbara, *Literatura na Górnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Historia Górnego Śląska. Polityka, gospodarka i kultura europejskiego regionu*, eds Joachim Bahlcke, Dan Gawrecki, Ryszard Kaczmarek, Gliwice 2011, pp. 389-406.

Szturc Jan, *Dzieje literatury polsko-ewangelickiej na Górnym Śląsku*, Katowice 2006.

Szwed Robert, *Tożsamość a obcość kulturowa. Studium empiryczne na temat związków między tożsamością społeczno-kulturalną a stosunkiem do obcych*, Lublin 2003.

Śmigielski Wacław Ks., *Między ołtarzem a więzieniem. Wspomnienia z Kulturkampfu 1875-1877*, Poznań 1937.

Śreniowski Stanisław, *Historia ustroju Śląska*, Katowice–Wrocław 1948.

Świątkiewicz Wojciech, *Tożsamość kulturowa - ujęcie socjologiczne,* [in:] *Tożsamość kulturowa mieszkańców starych dzielnic miast Górnego Śląska*, eds Wojciech Świątkiewicz, Kazimiera Wódz, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, pp. 89-99.

Świętochowski Aleksander, *Historia chłopów polskich w zarysie*, part 2: *W Polsce podległej*, Poznań Lwów–Poznań 1928.

Šmerda Milan, *Opolskie i kozielskie majątki kameralne w latach 1666-1727*, 'Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka', 13 (1958), No. 4, pp. 537-577.

Teuchert Hermann, *Slavische Lehnwoerter in ost deutschen Mundarten*, 'Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung', 26 (1958), pp. 13-31.

The emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants: Minorities and the nation state in nineteenth-century Europe, ed. Stephan Wendehorst, Manchester 1999.

The Long Formation of the Region (c. 1000-1526), ed. Przemysław Wiszewski, Wrocław 2013 (=Cuius Regio? Ideological and territorial cohesion of Silesia, eds Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik, vol. 1).

The Strenghtening of the Silesian regionalism (1526-1740), eds Lucyna Harc, Gabriela Wąs, Wrocław 2014 (=Cuius Regio? Ideological and territorial cohesion of Silesia, eds Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik, vol. 2).

Theiner Augustin, *Zustände der katholischen Kirche in Schlesien von 1740-1758*, vol. 1, Regensburg 1852.

Trzeciakowski Lech, *Kulturkampf w zaborze pruskim,* Poznań 1970.

Turek-Kwiatkowska Lucyna, *Obraz przeszłości regionu w świadomości historycznej społeczeństwa pomorskiego w pierwszej połowie XIX w.*, Szczecin 1978.

Tyrowicz Marian, *Udział Śląska w ruchu rewolucyjnym 1846-1849*, Warszawa 1949.

Verwaltungsgeschichte Ostdeutschlands 1815-1945. Organisation – Aufgaben – Leistungen der Verwaltung, eds Gerd Heinrich, Freidrich-Wilhelm Henning, Kurt G.A. Jeserich, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1993.

Wagner Patrick, *Bauern, Junker und Beamte. Lokale Herrschaft und Partizipation im Ostelbien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 2005.

Walaszek Adam, *Migracje Europejczyków 1650-1914*, Kraków 2007.

Wallenstein Friedrich, *Historya górnictwa na Górnym Śląsku. Na pamiątkę stuletniego istnienia knapszaftu górnośląskiego pod berłem pruskiem*, Bytom 1892.

Wanatowicz Maria Wanda, *Ks. Aleksander Skowroński jako przykład narodzin i rozwoju polskości ideologicznej na Górnym Śląsku*, [in:] *Śląsk w myśli politycznej i działalności Polaków i Niemców w XX wieku* (part 2), eds Danuta Kisielewicz, Lech Rubisz, Opole 2004, pp. 171-184.

Wanatowicz Maria Wanda, *Społeczeństwo polskie wobec Górnego Śląska (1795-1914)*, Katowice 1992.

Wasilewski Leon, *Śląsk polski*, Warszawa 1915.

Wąs Gabriela, *Dzieje Śląska od 1526 do 1806 roku*, [in:] *Historia Śląska*, ed. Marek Czapliński, Wrocław 2002 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No. 2364), pp. 117-248.

Wąs Gabriela, *The principles of the Cuius regio project and the history of Silesia between 1526 and 1740*, [in:] *The Strenghtening of the Silesian regionalism (1526-1740)*, eds Lucyna Harc, Gabriela Wąs, Wrocław 2014 (=Cuius regio? Ideological and territorial cohesion of Silesia, eds Lucyna Harc, Przemysław Wiszewski, Rościsław Żerelik, vol. 2), pp. 9-19.

Wąsicki Jan, *Związek Niemiecki i Druga Rzesza Niemiecka 1848-1914*, Poznań 1989.

Wąsowicz Józef, *Stosunki językowe na Śląsku w świetle nauki niemieckiej*, Wrocław–Warszawa 1947.

Wedekind Eduard Ludwig, *Geschichte der Grafschaft Glatz. Chronik der Städte, Flecken, Dörfer, Kolonien, Schösser u. dieser souverainen Grafschaft von der frühesten Vergangenheit bis auf die Gegenwart*, Neurode 1855.

Wilson Woodrow, *Ustrój państwowy Niemiec i Prus*, Warszawa 1917.

Woś Jolanta, *Zmiany w słownictwie gwarowym Kamienia Śląskiego w województwie opolskim*, 'Filologia Polska. Językoznawstwo', 5 (2004), (=Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie), pp. 153-158.

Wunder Bernd, *Geschichte der Bürokratie in Deutschland*, Frankfurt a. Main 1986.

Wuttke Heinrich, *Die schlesischen Stände, ihr Wesen, ihr Wirken*, Leipzig 1847.

Wendt Heinrich, *Die kaufmännische Standesvertretung Breslaus vor Begründung der Handelskammer*, [in:] *Die Handelskammer Breslau 1849-1924. Festschift der Industrie und Handelskammer,* Breslau 1924, pp. 326-349.

Wysłouch Seweryn, *Studia nad koncentracją w rolnictwie śląskim w latach 1850-1914. Struktura agrarna i jej zmiany*, Wrocław 1956.

Zaleski Wojciech*, Dzieje górnictwa i hutnictwa na Górnym Śląsku do roku 1806*, Madrid 1967.

Ziątkowski Leszek, *Między niemożliwym a koniecznym. Reformy państwa pruskiego w końcu XVIII i na początku XIX wieku a proces równouprawnienia Żydów ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem sytuacji na Śląsku*, Wrocław 2007.

Ziątkowski Leszek, *Przestrzeń prawna i przestrzeń społeczna osadnictwa żydowskiego na Górnym Śląsku,* [in:] *Żydzi na Górnym Śląsku w XIX i XX wieku*, eds Barbara Kalinowska-Wójcik, Dawid Keller, Rybnik-Katowice 2012, pp. 23-38.

Ziekursch Johannes*, Die innere Kolonisation im altpreußischen Schlesien*, 'Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens', 48 (1914), pp. 113-143.

Ziekursch Johannes, *Hundert Jahre schlesischer Agrargeschichte vom Hubertusburger Frieden bis zum Abschluss der Bauernbefreiung,* Breslau 1927.

Zimmermann Kazimierz, *Fryderyk Wielki i jego kolonizacja rolna na ziemiach Polski*, vol. 1, Poznań 1915.

Żyga Stanisław, *Postęp agrotechniczny na Śląsku w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku,* [in:] *Badania z dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych,* ed. Zbigniew Kwaśny, Wrocław 1987 (=Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, No. 801, Historia 51), p. 27-50.

Index

by Lucyna Harc

A

Adamy, Heinrich 176
administration 10, 14, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31, 36, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 65, 68, 101, 104, 105, 118, 120, 189, 191, 194
agriculture 14, 45, 63, 67, 74, 80, 82, 86, 87, 91, 93, 96, 97, 98, 106, 108, 124, 129
Amersfoort, Hans van 144
animal husbandry 14
aristocracy 14, 27, 42, 70, 101, 165, 191
army 110, 115, 126, 187, 188, 194
Asia 74
Association of the Polish Youth 'Zet' 112, 129, 181
Atlantic Ocean 126
Auerstädt 15
Austria 12, 20, 33, 68, 71, 85, 87, 90, 123, 128, 164, 168, 182
Austrian 12, 69, 70
autonomy 25, 107, 110, 111

B

Baborów 153
Ballestrem, Franz von, count 54, 80
Bandtkie, Jerzy Samuel, philologist, historian 151
Barycz Valley 178
Bavaria 111
Benda, Johann Wilhelm Otto, lawyer and translator 152
Berlin 12, 19, 20, 22, 30, 34, 36, 48, 49, 57, 69, 75, 84, 89, 92, 107, 119, 121, 125, 131, 169, 170, 182, 188
  General Directorate 29
Biała
  county of 28
Biały Kamień 75
Bielawa 81
Bismarck, Otto Eduard Leopold von, Duke of Lauenburg, Chancellor of Germany 20, 21, 55, 58, 110, 170, 179
Bogedain, Bernhard, Auxiliary Bishop of Wrocław 53, 55, 128
Boguszów 75
Bohemia 12, 19, 30, 103, 109
  Crown of 68
Bohumin 84
Bojków (formerly Szynwałd) 151
Bolesławiec
  district 66
Bolków 81
Bonn 119
bourgeoisie 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 75, 77, 78, 88, 99, 102, 105, 106, 108, 117, 118, 119, 121, 130, 157, 164, 165, 179
Brandenburg 13, 19, 29, 35, 64, 69, 91, 93, 102, 104, 106, 112, 181, 190
Brand, Franz 56
Brazil 74, 88
Brno 28
Brzeg 14, 32, 148, 149, 166
  county of 148, 155
  Duchy of 145
bureaucratism 14, 26
Byczyna 37
Bytom 37, 53, 67, 80, 83, 85, 128, 148, 149, 169, 170, 179
  county of 28, 36
  municipal county 36

C

cameralism 13
capitalism 54, 101, 102
Catholic 30, 33, 39, 53, 54, 101, 104, 105, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 120, 129, 130, 131, 143, 148, 149, 153, 155, 157, 158, 160, 163, 170, 173, 180, 188, 192
  church 70
Catholic Centre Party 21, 51, 55, 57, 112, 120, 129, 131, 159, 172, 173, 174, 179, 180, 185
Catholic Church 19, 21, 25, 31, 35, 53, 55,

57, 61, 67, 78, 110, 112, 130, 158, 169, 173, 180, 188, 191
Catholicism 30, 54, 117, 131, 157, 159, 165, 170, 173, 185
censorship 15, 19, 43, 48, 50
centralization 32, 119, 124
charity 108, 120
China 74
Chojnów 91
Chorzów 75, 80, 87
Chotusitz 12
Cieszyn 117, 129
  district of 28
  Duchy of 12, 28, 34, 187
city 14, 42, 47, 49
  council 18, 41, 44
civil servant 104, 105, 117, 119
Clark, Cristopher, historian 175
clergy 56, 59, 78, 101, 109, 112, 113, 116, 119, 130, 149, 172, 173, 180, 181
  Catholic 109, 112, 147, 148, 191
  Evangelical 53
  Polish 37, 55
  Polish-speaking 108
  Protestant 113, 116, 191
coal 67, 74, 75, 79, 80, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 96, 97, 99, 121, 124
  basin 94
  extraction 74
  mining 14, 75, 86, 125
  production 79, 80
  resources 75
colonization 71, 72, 148, 149, 151, 159, 168, 176, 182
commune 39, 42, 113, 120
Congress Kingdom of Poland 59, 80, 81, 82, 88, 89, 90, 94, 96, 97, 126, 130, 132, 154, 172, 179
constitution 50, 51, 53
cotton 121
court 32, 43, 56
  criminal 50
  system 42, 45, 56, 118
Crimean War 86
culture 105, 108, 117, 125, 143, 144, 152, 160, 163, 170, 179, 183
  German 108, 118, 154, 160, 166, 174, 184
  national German 21
  Polish 58, 112, 130
  Prussian 108
  rural 125
  urban 156
Czapliński, Marek 38, 179
Czech 117, 163, 167, 169, 178, 192
  lands 28, 71, 73, 90
  language 126, 149
Częstochowa 148, 174

D

Dąbrowa Basin 132
Dembowski Leon, politician 149
Denmark 20
dialect 126, 143, 147, 148, 150, 157, 160, 163, 172, 185, 192
  German 156
  Moravian 153
  Polish 153, 155, 157, 160, 169
  Silesian 151
  Slavic 101, 147, 150, 152, 153, 157
  Wasserpolnisch 147, 166, 192
Diepenbrock, Melchior, Freiherr von, German Cardinal, Prince-Bishop of Wrocław 53
dissemination of pornography 55
district 13, 29
  Silesian regency 34
  taxation 31
Donbass 89
Donnersmarck, family 80
Donnersmarck, Gwidon von, count 80
Dortmund 93
Dresden 84
Dutch colony 74
duty 189
  import 13
Dzierżoniów 83
  regency 36, 37

E

Eastern March 182
economy 10, 63, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74,

78, 82, 84, 86, 87, 91, 92, 95, 97, 98, 100, 108, 109, 148, 190, 194
agricultural 27
education 21, 36, 55, 59, 110, 117, 119, 121, 130, 167, 169, 181, 192, 193
Eichendorff, Joseph Freiherr von, poet, novelist, literary critic 108
Elbe, river 20
electrification 93, 94
Ełk 119
emigration 30, 126
England 73, 81, 83, 85, 86
Enlightenment 114
enterprise 15, 70, 72, 75, 77, 82, 87
epidemic 153
estate 14
structure 42
system 15
ethnic
group 143, 145, 160, 161, 164, 172, 179, 192
issue 10, 143, 145
ethnicity 143, 144, 160
ethnography 167
Europe 15, 47, 168, 184
Evangelical Lutheran Church 18, 37, 53, 54, 56, 116, 188, 191
Supreme Consistory (Oberkonsistorium) 34
Evangelical-Uniate Church 158, 191

F

Falk, Adalbert 119
farming 69, 80, 83, 93, 107, 109, 124
fiscalism 14, 16
flooding 47
Forckenbeck, Max von 119, 121
forest management 14
forestry 80
Förster, Heinrich, Bishop of Wrocław 55, 110, 153
fortification 14
fortress 14, 16, 70, 73
Brzeg 16, 66
Głogów 66
Kłodzko 16, 30, 66
Koźle 16, 66
Nysa 16, 66
Srebrna Góra 16, 66
Świdnica 16, 66
Wrocław 66
France 15, 16, 75, 76, 78, 81, 85, 86, 89
Franciscans 111
Frankenberg, Fred von, count 54
Frankfurt am Main 19
Frankfurt (Oder) 34
Frankfurt Parliament (Frankfurter Nationalversammlung) 49, 169
Franz Josef I, Emperor of Austria, and King of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia 184
Freemasonry 115
free state 32
Freitag, Gustav, novelist and playwright 177
French 16, 20, 175
Friedrich II (the Great), King of Prussia 9, 11, 13, 14, 25, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 41, 56, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 74, 76, 79, 103, 113, 114, 122, 126, 130, 144, 147, 148, 159, 164, 166, 168, 176, 187, 189, 190, 192, 194
Friedrich Wilhelm III, King of Prussia 15, 16, 18, 37, 115
Friedrich Wilhelm II, King of Prussia 15, 74, 75
Friedrich Wilhelm IV, King of Prussia 19, 44, 50, 84, 127

G

Galicia 58, 80, 94, 120, 126, 129, 130, 131, 154, 169, 172, 179
Gaschin, family 108
Gąbin
district 105
General War Commissary (General-Feldkriegskommissariat) 29
Geneva 9
gentry 25, 42, 61
geography 167, 176
German 9, 11, 57, 59, 60, 72, 114, 117, 123, 132, 143, 145, 148, 149, 150, 151,

152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 169, 170, 171, 173, 175, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 192
citizenship 58
culture 21, 55, 56, 108, 118, 154
Empire 12, 121
High 147, 148, 149, 152, 153, 156
language 33, 56, 59, 126, 127, 143, 144, 147, 149, 160, 178, 184, 185
nationality 159
states 12, 56
German Campaign (Befreiungskrieg) 18, 19
German Eastern Marches Society (Deutsche Ostmarkenverein) 180
Germanization 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 131, 149, 155, 174, 175, 178, 179, 182, 185, 193
Germany 9, 11, 15, 20, 21, 26, 27, 44, 46, 47, 48, 51, 58, 63, 73, 80, 81, 82, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 99, 100, 106, 125, 126, 132, 144, 163, 174, 176, 182, 184
Giesche, Georg von 80
Gliwice 80, 83, 85, 151
county of 28
Głogów 13, 14, 15, 16, 76
chamber 68
consistorial district of 34
department 34
regency 32, 34, 36
Głogówek 118
county of 28
Głubczyce 34, 67, 80, 149, 153
Głuchołazy 80
Głuszyca 81
Gneist, Rudolf 27
Gniezno 19, 37, 169, 174
Gniezno-Poznań, Archdiocese of 34
Godula, family 106
Godula (or Godulla), Karol 80
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, writer and statesman 144
Gogolin 84
Gorce 75
Gorzołka, Marcin 170
Gościęcin 151
Göttingen 119
Götzen, Friedrich Wilhelm von, general, Governor General of Silesia 16
Góra 155
Góra Śląska 94
Góra Św. Anny (St. Anne Mountain)
Franciscan monastery 54
Grand Duchy of Poznań 81, 107, 178, 182, 183
Gravert, Julius August von, general 17
Greater Poland 38, 60, 83, 86, 94, 107, 111, 113, 129, 130, 131, 149, 150, 153, 157, 163, 178, 179, 182, 184, 185
Greifswald 119
Grodków
county of 148, 153
district 34
Groningen 10
Groszowice 81
Grünhagen, Colmar 66
Gymnastic Society Sokół 180

H

Habsburg 13, 28, 30, 67, 68, 70, 104, 164, 187, 189, 190, 192, 193
counter-reformation 165
Empire 34, 104, 117
Monarchy 25, 27
rule of 11, 68
Halle 114
Hamburg 64, 74, 85
Hardenberg, Karl August von, chancellor 17, 36, 78
Hatzfeldt-Trachenberg, Hermann von, Prince, Oberpräsident in Schlesien 52
Haugwitz, Paul von 108
healthcare system 118
health resort 94, 121
Heidelberg 119
historiography 146
German 78
Polish 152
history 167, 169, 176
of Silesia 10, 11, 13, 34, 49, 168
Hlučín. *see* Hulczyn
Hochberg, family 106, 109

Hoffman, Ernst 84
Hoffman, Johann Gottlieb 84
Hohenlohe, family 80
Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, Chlodwig Carl Viktor, Prince of Racibórz and Corvey 54
Hohenzollern 22, 68, 104, 144, 147, 168, 187, 188, 189
  dynasty 16, 99, 164, 172, 175, 182
  rule of 11, 63, 165
  state 78
Holy See 19, 110
Hołdunów 114
Hospital Sisters of St. Francis 111
Hoyerswerda 18, 178
  county of 35
Hoym, Karl Georg von, minister of Silesia 29
Hubertusburg 64
Huene-Hoiningen, Karl von, baron 54
Hulczyn 34, 153
Humboldt, Wilhelm von, philosopher, government functionary, diplomat 144
Hungary 89, 103
Hutsuls 154

I

identity 90, 99, 117, 131, 143, 144, 154, 159, 161, 163, 172, 176, 178, 184, 193
  cultural 143, 163, 164, 169, 194
  German 89, 101, 146, 192
  national 22, 25, 61, 101, 143, 160, 163, 178, 180, 184, 185
  Polish 101, 178
  Prussian 89, 126
  regional 79, 83, 116, 159, 164, 166, 193
  religious 25, 159
  Silesian 89, 121, 167, 192, 193
  sub-regional 9, 25, 41, 61, 187
Île-de-France 111
Iława 83
immigration 93, 101, 103, 112, 122, 132, 157
India 74
industrialization 9, 11, 14, 52, 63, 67, 74, 75, 79, 80, 82, 86, 87, 88, 91, 106, 131, 170, 179, 185, 189, 192
industry 27, 36, 56, 73, 79, 82, 83, 84, 86, 91, 92, 93, 94, 99, 106, 109, 118, 124, 189, 191
  big 25
  canning 92
  clothing 96
  cotton 81
  dress-making 67
  heavy 89, 91, 98, 99, 106, 109
  large 61
  light 63, 91, 96, 99
  linen 67
  machine 191
  metallurgical 191
  mining 118, 126, 191
  steel 126
  Upper Silesian 20, 80
infrastructure 45
integration 25, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 47, 56, 61, 63, 66, 71, 75, 85, 86, 93, 94, 99, 108, 109, 111, 112, 120, 131, 144, 165, 172, 175, 188
intelligentsia 112, 131, 163, 178, 179, 181, 186
ironworks 125

J

Jagow, Gustav Wilhelm 119
Jawor
  county of 69
  district 34, 66
Jawornik 34
Jaworzyna Śląska 84
Jelenia Góra 48, 118
  county of 85
  district 34, 66
Jena 15, 119
Jérôme-Napoléon Bonaparte, King of Westphalia 15, 76, 165
Jesenik 34
Jews 15, 53, 77, 101, 106, 120, 159, 163, 179
John of Nepomuk, saint 30
Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor 123
journal 20, 50, 57
judiciary 15, 25, 31, 43

Junker 20, 39, 40, 61, 77, 83, 107, 124

K

Kamienna Góra 91
Kamienna Góra-Bolków, district 66
Karczów 152
Karlsruhe 119
Katowice 80, 97, 119, 189
  county of 36
  municipal county 36
Kąty Wrocławskie 16
Kemna, Julius 83
Kędzierzyn 84
Kiel 119
Kietrz 34, 80
Kluczbork 37, 73, 80, 87, 148
Kłodnicki Canal 75, 85
Kłodzko 14, 49, 69, 94
  County of 33, 35, 37, 123, 178
  region 28, 55, 68, 69, 84, 108
  Valley 67
Kłodzko-Nowa Ruda Basin 74, 75
Kopp, Georg von, German Cardinal, Prince-Bishop of Wrocław 21, 57, 110, 179, 181
Korfanty, Wojciech, journalist and politician 59, 132, 181, 184
Koschützky, Karl von 127, 128
Kowalczyk, Jan Jakub 172, 181
Koźle 84, 92, 154
Kożuchów 68
Kraków 33, 37, 84, 85, 112, 151, 174
  Free City of 81
  Uprising 85
Krapkowice 153
Krnov 12
  Duchy of 28, 187
Królewiec 119
Królewska Huta
  municipal county 36
Kruszewski, Tomasz 42
Kulak, Teresa, historian 156
Kulturkampf 21, 25, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 61, 101, 108, 110, 119, 129, 131, 173, 179, 185, 189, 191, 192

L

landed property 42
landowner 14, 17, 43, 54, 71, 82, 86, 106, 121, 122, 124, 127
Landrat 32, 33, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 50, 53, 57
Landtag (Prussian Parliament) 38, 43, 46, 170, 182
Lassalle, Ferdinand Johann Gottlieb, philosopher, socialist 52
League of Nations 22
Legnica 81, 84, 91, 120
  district 177, 183
  municipal county 36
  regency 18, 27, 35, 36, 37, 38, 51, 91, 93, 96, 156, 167, 175
  region 92
Leipzig 84
Leo XIII, Pope 57
Leszno Górne 83
liberalism 43
Linke, Gottfried 84
Lipiny 80
Lischnovsky, family 108
literacy 156, 192
literature 143, 144, 156, 160, 174, 183
Lompa, Józef 128, 169
Lorinser, Franz 53
Lothringen 105, 111
lower class 101, 132
Lower Silesian Basin 79
Lower Silesian Wilderness (Bory Dolnośląskie) 68
Lubań 18, 35
Lublin 151
Lubliniec 80, 87
Luboń 129
Lusatia 29, 35, 91, 150
  Upper 18, 35, 152, 192
Lutheranism 116
Luther, Martin 115
Lwówek-Bolesławiec district 34
Lwówek Śląski
  district 66

M

Maćkowski, Jan Karol, editor 58
Magnis, Anton von, count 108
Malczyce 75
Malinowski, Lucjan 154
Mała Panew, river 73
mandatory military service 126
manufacturing 14, 74, 78, 83, 84, 96
Maria Theresa, Queen of Bohemia and Hungary, Holy Roman Empress 12, 14, 64, 103, 123
Marwitz, Hans Carl von der, general 69
Massow, Julius Eberhardt von, general 17
mercantilism 14
Merckel, Friedrich Theodor, Oberpräsident 43, 50, 56, 76
Merseburg
  district 105
metallurgy 14, 75, 79, 80, 83, 84, 86, 91
  iron 14, 73, 87, 89
  steel 96
  zinc 80, 89
Miarka, Karol, social activist, publicicst 57, 128, 153, 171, 179
Michaelis, Georg, Chancellor of Germany 27, 47, 59
middle class 13, 14, 16, 101, 191
migration 58, 102, 124, 126, 131, 155, 160, 191, 192
Mikołów 85
Milicz 94, 149
  county of 28, 155
militarism 14
Miodary 115
modernization 9, 13, 18, 25, 60, 63, 77, 82, 94, 107, 130, 144, 148, 188, 190
Mohl, Robert 26
Mollwitz 12
Moravia 28, 103
Moravian language 192
  126
Moravia-Silesian Governorate 28
Müller, Friedrich Wilhelm, pastor 115
multi-ethnicity 147
Münster 119
Museum of Silesian Antiquities 168
Mysłowice 80, 84
Myszor, Jerzy, Church historian, Catholic priest 53

N

Namysłów 94, 148
Napieralski, Adam, publisher and politician 179, 180
Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the France 15, 16, 17, 63, 76, 79, 102, 117, 130, 165, 183, 193
Napoleonic era 25, 40, 48, 60, 99, 123, 149, 193
Napoleonic Wars 9, 41, 101, 152, 166, 188
Napoleon III, Emperor of the France 20
nation 167, 183
  German 129
  Polish 163, 171, 180, 183, 186
  Prussian 167
National Assembly (Deutsche Nationalversammlung) 49, 86, 127, 169
National Club 169
national councillor 52
National Democracy (Narodowa Demokracja) 184
nationalist 9, 126, 129, 132, 173
  policy 131
National League (Liga Narodowa) 181
navigation 20
Navy League (Deutsche Flottenverein) 180
New March 35
newspaper 15, 48, 53
Niemodlin 148, 154
nobility 12, 13, 14, 25, 32, 39, 40, 42, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 76, 88, 101, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 116, 117, 121, 130, 145, 164, 190, 191
Nobility 102
Nordenflycht, Ferdinand Otto Freiherr von, Oberpräsident 105
North America 88
North German Confederation (Norddeutscher Bund) 173
Norway 89
Nowa Ruda 67

county of 36
district 56
Nowa Sól 68, 83, 91
Nowogród
county of 28
Nysa 12, 14, 54, 67, 80, 118
county of 81, 148, 153
district 34
Duchy of 28, 37, 187

O

Oberpräsident 36, 40, 42, 43, 51, 52, 56, 105
Odessa 81
Odra-Danube
canal 98
connection 20
Odra, river 20, 35, 46, 64, 67, 74, 75, 84, 85, 87, 122, 127, 151, 153, 177, 185, 189
left bank of 153, 192
right bank of 155, 192
Valley 155
Old Catholic Church 54, 110
Old Lutheran Church 19
Olesno 81
Oleśnica 31, 91, 148, 153, 166
county of 155
Duchy of 34
Olomouc 33, 34
region 34
Oława 84, 148, 149, 166
county of 155
Opava 12
Crown Office 28
districts of 28
Duchy of 28, 187
Opava, river 151
Opole 10, 71, 81, 84, 102, 192
county of 36, 80
district of 128, 178
municipal county 36
regency 9, 18, 22, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 80, 82, 93, 153, 156, 167, 170, 175, 188
region 25, 80, 97, 145, 154, 157, 178, 191
Ossowiec 83
Ostflucht 59, 93, 94, 155
Ostrawica, river 151
Ozimek 73, 83

P

Pan-German League (Alldeutscher Verband) 180
Paris 19
Partsch, Joseph, geographer and ethnologist 79, 176, 177
Pater, Mieczysław 54
Pawłowiczki 151
Pays de la Loire 111
peasantry 14, 16, 17, 65, 68, 76, 78, 86, 88, 99, 104, 122, 146, 164, 165, 170
Piast dynasty 176
Pieszyce 81
Pietism 114
Pilszcz 149
plebiscite 22
Poland 9, 10, 15, 22, 34, 71, 73, 75, 101, 109, 130, 163, 173, 184
Pole 9, 16, 21, 51, 58, 59, 127, 129, 130, 143, 145, 150, 152, 154, 155, 156, 160, 161, 169, 171, 174, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183
police 36, 40, 50, 53
Polish 114, 117, 131, 192
books 59, 166
intelligentsia 59
language 25, 33, 55, 56, 58, 61, 112, 126, 128, 147, 149, 151, 155, 160, 166, 169, 177, 179, 180, 184, 185, 189
nationality 127
press 128, 174, 180
Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 33
Polishness 56, 58, 60
political life 25, 49, 57
political party 47, 51
Pomerania 19, 69, 81, 83, 102, 157, 163, 178, 179, 182, 190
Western 170
population 52, 56, 58, 64, 65, 71, 72, 76, 82, 88, 93, 94, 98, 101, 106, 120, 122, 123, 124, 126, 130, 131, 147, 148, 154, 155, 165, 169, 171, 183, 184,

185, 187, 189, 192
Catholic 21, 30, 51, 53, 116, 151
Czech 56
German 59, 167, 180, 182
German-speaking 120, 163
Jewish 167
Polish 16, 21, 22, 55, 57, 59, 126, 128, 130, 132, 155, 166, 168, 182, 184
Polish-speaking 56, 111, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 131, 174, 183, 193
Protestant 12, 114, 151, 167, 185
Slavic 146
Sorbian 56
urban 36, 75, 93, 166, 191
Potsdam 34, 69
Poznań 21, 86, 124, 170, 174, 180
Province of 106, 127, 128, 178
Prague 33, 34, 84
Archbishopric of 55
Dioceses of 34, 35
Praschma, family 108
press 174, 185
Pressfreund, Karol, Catholic priest 171
production 13, 18, 67, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 87, 89, 91, 92, 95, 96, 98, 99
proletariat 124, 125, 131, 191
property 102, 103
Prostějov 149
Protestant 18, 30, 33, 53, 64, 68, 71, 78, 101, 105, 108, 110, 113, 114, 115, 117, 130, 153, 163, 165, 166, 192
church 30, 34, 70, 116, 118, 169
German 21, 152
Polish-speaking 155, 185
state 54
teacher 118
Protestantism 30, 115, 116, 157, 158, 159
proto-industrialization 15, 74
provincial diet (Provinziallandtag) 28, 32, 42, 43, 45, 46, 187
Prószków 129
Prudnik 67, 80
county of 28, 154
Prussia 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 25, 26, 27, 33, 35, 39, 40, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 58, 60, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 72, 74, 75, 83, 86, 93, 99, 101, 102, 106, 108, 110, 112, 113, 118, 121, 122, 126, 128, 130, 144, 147, 154, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 174, 176, 183, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 193
Eastern 81, 83, 97, 102
Kingdom of 9, 11, 13
Landtag of 22
Old 79
Western 170
Prussian 13
army 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 30, 33, 68, 69, 113, 172
Assembly 100
canton system 65
citizenship 58, 59
crown 168, 175
Empire 17
government 16, 57
monarchy 9, 11, 13, 17, 60, 65, 66, 103
rule 25, 149, 185
state 9, 11, 20, 31, 32, 35, 41, 55, 58, 71, 80, 86, 108, 111, 112, 132, 147, 156, 160, 168, 177, 181, 182, 184, 185, 188, 191, 193, 194
system 47
Union of Churches 115, 116
Przemsza, river 151
Przewóz
county of 28
Przywara, Erich, SJ, philosopher, theologian 119
Przywara, Matthias 119
Pszczyna 37, 67, 80, 148, 154, 157
county of 28, 85
Pszczyński, family 80
Puttkamer, Robert Viktor von, Prussian statesman 105

R

Racibórz 54, 67, 71, 80, 84, 118, 154
county of 92, 170
Prince of 107
railway 46, 84, 95, 121
line 45, 94, 168

network 83, 190
Reformation 37, 53
Reformed Church 19, 37, 167, 191
regionalism 13
Reich 18, 20, 54, 63, 71, 89, 90, 93, 95, 97, 98, 99, 145, 174, 175, 176, 180, 183, 184, 185, 187, 191, 194
German 9, 11, 20, 54, 79, 89, 91, 99, 166, 173, 178, 185, 193
Second 21, 51
Reichstag 21, 22, 55, 57, 129, 132, 181, 182, 184
religion 9, 108, 109, 118, 120, 143, 145, 159, 160, 163, 170, 171, 173, 185, 193
religious tolerance 15, 53
revolution 19, 49
French Revolution 130
November Revolution 99, 131
Rhineland 20, 89, 106, 111
Rhine, river 15, 20, 127
Rhine Valley 90
Rhine-Westphalia 124
Roman Curia 37
Rome 57
Rostock 119
Rotenburg 178
royal court 104
Rozbork (Rothenburg) 35
Rozumice 149
Ruda Śląska 54, 67
Rudziniec 84
Ruffer, Gustav Heinrich 83
Ruhr Valley 87
rule of law 26
rural population 14, 67, 83, 88, 93
Russia 81, 86, 90
Rusyn 154
Rybnik 154
county of 85, 170
Rzeczpospolita. *see* Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

S

Saar Valley 87
salt 15
Salvatorians 111
Saxony 18, 93
Kingdom of 35
Lower 102, 190
Schaffgotsch, Philipp Gotthard von, Prince-Bishop of Wrocław 30, 34
Scheibel, Johann Gottfried, theologian 115
Schlesische Bankverein 120
Schlesische Central Bank für Landwirtschaft u. Handel 120
Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur (Silesian Society for the Culture of the Fatherland) 167
Schönberg, Moritz Haubold Freiherr von, Oberpräsident 105
school 25, 31, 42, 55, 56, 57, 61, 110, 118, 126, 128, 131, 152, 156, 169, 172, 173, 176, 178, 189, 193
system 166, 174, 191
School Sisters of Notre Dame 111
secularization 18, 78, 102, 108, 110, 190, 191
edict of 78, 110
Sedan 175
Seeger von Szczutowski, Friedrich Wilhelm 127
self-government 13, 18, 25, 27, 38, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 61, 69, 77, 78
separatism 25, 41, 61
serfdom 17, 189, 192
Seyda, Marian, politician 184
Siemianowice 80, 87, 189
Silesia 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 60, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 85, 88, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 109, 111, 113, 114, 115, 118, 121, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 131, 163, 164, 167, 168, 170, 172, 175, 176, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193
Austrian 12, 15, 28, 55, 117, 147, 150, 187, 191
Cieszyn 101, 110, 113, 117, 120, 123, 128, 130, 131, 193

Lower 12, 19, 22, 31, 32, 33, 37, 41, 46, 59, 63, 64, 67, 75, 81, 84, 85, 91, 96, 97, 98, 99, 104, 114, 119, 144, 148, 152, 155, 156, 157, 159, 160, 164, 166, 175, 177, 185, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194
Middle 175, 176
minister of 29, 36
Opavian 28
Opole 122
Province of 11, 38, 107, 111, 132, 175
Prussian 28, 29, 48, 104, 110, 111, 112, 116, 120, 121, 131, 190
Upper 9, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 41, 46, 52, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 67, 68, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 91, 92, 96, 97, 98, 99, 106, 112, 114, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 131, 144, 145, 148, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157, 159, 164, 165, 166, 168, 171, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183, 185, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194
Silesian 13, 29, 34, 52, 60, 99, 125, 129, 187, 189, 190
German-speaking 193
Silesian chamber 13, 29
Silesian Diet 42, 188
Silesian minister 13
Silesian Uprising 157
Silesian Uprisings 194
Silesian War 9, 11, 13, 102, 130, 187, 190
First 9, 11, 28, 65, 71, 103
Second 28, 69, 165
Third (Seven Years' War) 13, 28, 29, 70, 71
Silesia-Poznań border region 166
Sinzendorf , Philipp Ludwig von, Austrian Cardinal, Prince-Bishop of Wrocław 33
Sisters of Immaculate Mary 111
Sisters of Jesus the Good Shepherd 111
Sisters of Mercy of St Borromeo 111
Sisters of Saint Elizabeth ('Grey Nuns') 111
Sisters of Saint Hedwig 111
Sisters Servants of the Sacred Heart 111
Skowroński, Aleksander, Catholic priest 180
Slavic language 158, 192
155
Slavs 145, 154
Smolka, Emanuel 128
social group 101, 102, 108, 113, 117, 120, 122, 127, 144, 154, 164, 179, 190, 191, 194
society 36, 43, 48, 101, 102, 105, 108, 130, 132, 144, 158, 167, 174, 177, 182, 183, 186, 192
civil 42
feudal 190
local 44, 45
Society of Jesus (Jesuits) 112
Society of the Divine Word (Verbites) 111
Society of Upper Silesian Academics 112
Sorbian 152, 163, 167, 169
Spain 74
Spree, river 127
Spring of Nations 48, 50, 53, 54, 63, 82, 85, 88, 99, 127, 169, 188, 190, 193
Sreznevskij, Ismail Ivanowič 154
Stalmach, Paweł 128
Stein-Hardenberg Reforms 35, 41, 63, 76, 88, 165, 188
Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl, Freiherr vom und zum, politician, minister 17, 36, 76, 78
Stenzel, Gustav Adolf, historian 167
Strzegom 83
Strzelce 80
Strzelce Opolskie 149
Strzelin 178
Strzybnica 74
sub-Sudetes (Podsudecie) 93
Sudeten Foothills (Pogórze Sudeckie) 27, 30, 48, 66, 67, 82, 83, 85, 94
Sudetes Mountains 94, 178
Sudice 149
Sweden 89
Syców 94, 153
county of 155
Szafranek, Józef, Catholic priest 50, 127,

170
Szczawienko 16
Szczecin 19, 34, 76, 85
Szewczyk, Grażyna Barbara, germanist 183
Szlichtyngowa 34
Szmula, Juliusz, major 180
Szprotawa 68

Ś

Ściborzyce Wielkie 151
Ścinawa Niemodlińska 149
Śląsko-Dąbrowski Basin 96
Świątkiewicz, Wojciech, sociologist 164
Świdnica 14, 54, 81, 84, 91, 92
  county of 69
  district 66
  Lutheran Holy Trinity Church of Peace 53
  municipal county 36
Świebodzice 74, 81, 91
Świebodzin 29
  County 35
Świerklaniec 80
Świętochłowice 80

T

Tarnowskie Góry 67, 73, 80, 84, 87
  county of 36
tax 13, 31, 42, 44, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 78, 88, 165, 189
  reform 18
textile 71, 74, 91, 96
  dye 69
  industry 37, 80, 81
  production 37, 66, 79, 80, 81
Theiner, Augustin, theologian 114
Theiner, Johannes Anton, theologian 159
theology 116, 117
Thiele-Winckler, family 109
Third Estate 117, 123
Toszek
  county of 28
Toszek-Gliwice, county of 28, 81
tourism 94
trade 13, 14, 64, 66, 67, 73, 78, 79, 83, 85, 86, 90, 95, 99, 121
transit 68, 81
transport 20, 45, 68, 79, 83, 85, 87, 90, 94, 95, 118
  line 87
  rail 84, 95, 99
  river 46
  tram line 95
  water 95, 99
  waterway 94
treasury 36, 69, 72
Třebom 149
Trzebnica 81, 149, 153
  county of 155
Turkey 86
Tylża 16

U

Ukrainian 154
Union Church (Unionskirche) 158
United Kingdom 91
Upper Silesian Basin 79, 80, 89
Upper Silesian Society 112
urbanization 52, 87, 131

V

Verein für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens (Society for [Research on] Silesian History and Antiquit) 168
Vidnava 34
Vienna 28, 68, 84, 117
  Congress of 18, 35
  University of 117
Virchow, Rudolf Ludwig Carl, physician, biologist 153

W

Wallis, family 104
Wałbrzych 16, 67, 74, 75, 83
  Basin 75, 84, 87
Wałbrzych-Nowa Ruda Basin 91, 96
War and Domain Chamber (Kriegs- und Domänenkammer) 13, 16, 64, 67
  in Głogów 29
  in Wrocław 29

president of 29
Warsaw 75, 84
Wasilewski, Leon, politician 173, 178
Wąs, Gabriela 34
weaver 27
Wedekind, Eduard Ludwig 108
Wenzel, August 118
Westphalia 20, 87, 89, 90
Wilhelm I, German Emperor and King of Prussia 20, 127
Wilhelm II, German Emperor and King of Prussia 11, 131, 182, 184
Wilson, Thomas Woodrow, President of the United States 22, 47, 184
Winckler, family 106
Winckler, Franz, count 80
Winckler, Renard, count 80
Wojerecy. *see* Hoyerswerda
Wolff, Wilhelm 48
Wołów 94
wool 83, 91
workforce 124, 125, 131
World War I 9, 11, 20, 52, 63, 95, 99, 106, 109, 112, 125, 130, 155, 157, 163, 183, 186, 187, 188, 190, 192, 194
Wrocław 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 29, 30, 43, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 63, 66, 67, 69, 70, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 90, 92, 96, 97, 100, 112, 118, 119, 120, 121, 129, 149, 150, 155, 165, 166, 167, 181, 183, 188, 193
bishop of 31, 55, 111
Bishopric of 33, 37, 153
capital of Silesia 83
Cathedral Chapter 110
Centennial Hall 183
chamber 33, 35, 69
Chamber of Industry and Commerce 70
consistorial district of 34
county of 148
Dioceses of 21, 33, 34, 35, 37, 110, 111, 130, 148, 179
district 177, 183
factory 75
governor 13
municipal county 36
Police 119
Provincial Archives in 168
regency 18, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 51, 52, 54, 91, 93, 156, 167, 175
Treaty of 105
University of 10, 18, 21, 119, 167, 176
Wschowa 34

Z

Zabrze 75, 80
county of 36
Zagwiżdże 73
Zerotin, family 104
Zgorzelec 18, 35, 84, 91
municipal county 36
Ziekursch, Johannes 72, 104
Zielona Góra 83
county of 35, 92
Ziębice 92
Zimmermann, Friedrich Albert 145, 149, 151
zinc 14, 80, 96
Zlaté Hory 34
Zöllner, Johann Friedrich 150

Ż

Żabikowo 129
Żagań 53
county of 28
Duchy of 35
Żmigród
Free State of 28
Żmigród-Milicz district 34
Żory 80

Polish-German Concordance of Topographic Names

Baborów – Bauerwitz
Biała – Zülz
Biały Kamień – Weisstein
Bielawa – Langenbielau
Boguszów – Gottesberg
Bohumin – Oderberg
Bojków (formerly Szynwałd) – Schönwald
Bolesławiec – Bunzlau
Bolków – Bolkenhain
Brzeg – Brieg
Byczyna – Pitschen
Bytom – Beuthen
Chojnów – Haynau
Chorzów – Königshütte
Cieszyn – Teschen
Częstochowa – Tschenstochau
Dzierżoniów – Reichenbach im Eulengebirge
Ełk – Lyck
Gliwice – Gleiwitz
Głogów – Glogau
Głogówek – Oberglogau
Głubczyce – Leobschütz
Głuchołazy – Ziegenhals
Głuszyca – Nieder Wüstegiersdorf
Góra – Guhrau
Gorce – Rothenbach
Gościęcin – Kostenthal
Grodków – Grottkau
Groszowice – Groschowitz
Hołdunów – Anhalt
Hulczyn – Hultschin
Jawor – Jauer
Jawornik – Jauernig
Jaworzyna Śląska – Königszelt

Jelenia Góra – Hirschberg
Kamienna Góra – Landeshut
Karczów – Schönwitz
Katowice – Kattowitz
Kąty Wrocławskie – Kanth
Kędzierzyn – Kandrzin
Kłodzko – Glatz
Kluczbork – Creutzburg
Koźle – Cosel
Kożuchów – Freystadt in Schlesien
Krapkowice – Krappitz
Krnov – Jägerndorf
Królewiec – Königsberg
Legnica – Liegnitz
Leszno Górne – Ober Leschen
Lipsk – Leipzig
Lubań – Lauban
Lubliniec – Lublinitz
Lwówek Śląski – Löwenberg in Schlesien
Mała Panew r. – Malapane
Malczyce – Maltsch a.d. Oder
Mikołów – Nikolai
Milicz – Militsch
Miodary - Hönigern
Mysłowice – Myslowitz
Namysłów – Namslau
Niemodlin – Falkenberg
Nowa Ruda – Neurode
Nowa Sól – Neusalz an der Oder
Nowogród – Naumburg am Bober
Nysa – Neisse
Odra r. – Oder
Oława – Ohlau
Oleśnica – Öls
Olesno – Rosenberg
Ołomuniec – Olmütz
Opava – Oppau

Opole – Oppeln
Ozimek – Malapane
Pawłowiczki – Pawlowitz
Pieszyce – Peterswaldau
Pilszcz – Piltsch
Poczdam – Potsdam
Poznań – Posen
Prószków – Proskau
Prudnik – Neustadt in Oberschlesien
Przemsza r. – Przemsa
Przewóz – Priebus
Pszczyna – Pless
Racibórz – Rattibor
Rozumice – Rösnitz
Ruda Śląska – Ruda in Oberschlesien
Rudziniec – Rudzinitz
Rybnik – Rybnick
Ściborzyce Wielkie – Steuberwitz
Ścinawa Niemodlińska – Steinau
Siemianowice – Siemianowitz
Strzegom – Striegau
Strzelce – Strehlitz
Strzelce Opolskie – Groß Strehlitz
Strzelin – Strehlen
Strzybnica – Friedrichshütte
Sudice – Zauditz
Świdnica – Schweidnitz
Świebodzice – Freiburg in Schlesien
Świebodzin – Schwiebus
Świerklaniec – Neudeck
Świętochłowice – Schwientochlowitz
Syców – Gross Wartenberg
Szczawienko – Niedersalzbrunn, Sorgau
Szczecin – Stettin
Szlichtyngowa – Schlichtingsheim
Szprotawa – Sprottau
Tarnowskie Góry – Tarnowitz

Toszek – Tost
Třebom – Thröm
Trzebnica – Trebnitz
Vidnava – Weidenau
Wałbrzych – Waldenburg/Schlesien
Wołów – Wohlau
Wrocław – Breslau
Wschowa – Fraustadt
Zabrze – Zabrze, nach 1915 Hindenburg O.S.
Żabikowo – Zabikowo
Żagań – Sagan
Zagłębie Dąbrowskie – Dombrowaer Kohlenbecken
Zgorzelec – Görlitz
Ziębice – Münsterberg
Zielona Góra – Grünberg
Żmigród – Trachenberg
Żory – Sohrau

The Authors

Lucyna Harc
Institute of History, University of Wrocław, ul. Szewska 49, PL50–139 Wrocław, e-mail: harcla@uni.wroc.pl

Paweł Jaworski
Institute of History, University of Wrocław, ul. Szewska 49, PL50–139 Wrocław, e-mail: jaworski@hist.uni.wroc.pl

Teresa Kulak
Institute of History, University of Wrocław, ul. Szewska 49, PL50–139 Wrocław, e-mail: kulak@uni.wroc.pl

Wanda Musialik
Chair of Research on European Heritage, Opole University of Technology, ul. Luboszycka 7, PL45–036 Opole, e-mail: wanda.musialik@wp.pl

Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers
Chair of Research on European Heritage, Opole University of Technology, ul. Luboszycka 7, PL45–036 Opole, e-mail: doka.doka@wp.eu

This volume contains a collection of studies which are the product of research on the formation of Silesia as a region in the period 1740-1918. It is another portion of the summary of research undertaken by a team of Polish historians in conjunction with their participation in the programme of the European Science Foundation entitled *Cuius regio. An analysis of the cohesive and disruptive forces determining the attachment and commitment of (groups of) persons to and the cohesion within regions*. The project's assumptions were for original analyses to be conducted on five factors significant in the functioning of the region: administration (Paweł Jaworski), economy (Teresa Kulak), social groups (Wanda Musialik and Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers), ethnic issues (Dorota Schreiber-Kurpiers) and the national and cultural identity of the region's inhabitants (Teresa Kulak).

In each of the spheres analysed in this book, what has been demonstrated is the prevalence of disintegrating factors in the region from the period of its seizure by the armies of Frederick II until the conclusion of World War I. Top-down efforts undertaken by the authorities aimed at integrating the region with the Prussian state, and then with the Reich, did not fully achieve their objectives. The split into the two sub-regions of Upper and Lower Silesia would seem to be inevitable, in spite of particular unifying elements, particularly in the economic sphere during the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

ISBN 978-83-942651-3-7